THE Nation.

OBAMA MAKES HISTORY
The Editors

CONSERVATISM'S BADGE OF EXCLUSION
Corey Robin

DILBERTS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!
David Sirota

BLACKWATER'S PRIVATE SPIES

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JUNE 23, 2008
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Letters

Israel: 60 Years of Birth Pains

New York City

The year Israel was founded, I was in eighth grade and trying to understand the world. I was helped after my days in St. Mary's Catholic school by the bound volumes of *The Nation* on the rear wall of the public library in my native Rockford, Illinois. St. Mary's taught me about sin. *The Nation* taught me about Israel. Sixty years on, distinguished Oxford scholar Avi Shlaim uses the May 26 *Nation* to say, "Israel still has not arrived at a reckoning of its sins against the Palestinians, a recognition that it owes the Palestinians a debt that must at some point be repaid." Then Columbia's Rashid Khalidi, descended from a long line of distinguished Jerusalem Palestinians, uses *The Nation* to suggest some methods of repayment. I am happy to say that St. Mary's and *The Nation* taught me steadfastness, not despair, toward goals of liberation, peace and justice and enabled me to keep hearing the Shlaims and Khalidis, even above the all-networks praise of Israel by my President before the Knesset, saying what I have learned to think is injustice.

John Culhane

Petaluma, Calif.

As a member of A Jewish Voice for Peace and a longtime student of the Middle East, I must point out that Avi Shlaim, in his otherwise excellent article, refers to "a clash between two movements for national liberation." But the Palestinians had no need for liberation. They had lived (under various regimes but basically undisturbed) in Palestine, as Arabs, since 700 AD. And their racial background was largely Canaanite, a people who had lived in the area thousands of years before the Jewish people existed. They were the great majority of the indigenous people when the Zionists showed up in the late nineteenth century and decided to "liberate" the Palestinians' land in order to create a Jewish homeland. This was colonialism, plain and simple, and in that light the moral case for the Palestinians' claim to the land is much more compelling than the Jewish one.

Nonetheless, Israel now exists. Officially since 1988 and unofficially for years before that, the majority of Palestinians have been willing to coexist with Israel, as long as it returns to its 1967 borders, following UN Resolution 242's Land for Peace format. But Israel, with crucial US backing since the early 1970s, has refused to abide by several direct UN Security Council resolutions, dozens of General Assembly resolutions, the UN Charter and the Geneva Conventions. The Charter specifically states that land conquered by force of arms cannot be occupied indefinitely, and the Geneva Conventions state that an occupying power cannot import its own people into occupied territory. So every square inch of the West Bank and Gaza is being held illegally, and every Jewish-only settlement on occupied land is a direct violation of international law. As Shlaim accurately states, "Land-grabbing and peacemaking do not go well together."

By any moral or legal standard Israel's refusal to return the Palestinians' land to them, in exchange for internationally guaranteed security arrangements (offered repeatedly since the early 1970s), is the root cause of the conflict. Until Israel abides by its obligations under international law, innocent blood (mostly Palestinian) will continue to be shed, and the 3,000-year Jewish ethical tradition of taking the moral high ground will continue to be trampled into the dust.

Chuck Sher

Did Someone Say 'Equal Rights'?

Sacramento

Re: Katha Pollitt's May 26 "Backlash Spectacular." This feminist is "calling home"! Washington University made a terrible mistake in awarding Phyllis Schlafly an honorary doctorate. No woman has worked harder to defeat women's gains in education, politics and the workplace. My thanks to Pollitt for

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Obama Makes History

History was made June 3, 2008. The first draft goes something like this: Senator Barack Obama, the son of a black Kenyan man and a white Kansan woman, won the longest primary ever waged, becoming the first African-American major-party nominee for President of the United States. He narrowly defeated Senator Hillary Clinton, splitting with her some 36 million votes cast in fifty-seven contests, the highest turnout ever in a presidential primary. There is much to marvel at in this turn of events, including the fact that for much of this nation's past neither candidate would have been allowed to vote, much less run for the country's highest office.

EDITORIAL

But the historic significance of Obama's victory lies not just in the records and barriers it has broken but in how it was achieved. Tapping into a widespread yearning for change and revulsion over the Iraq War, Obama built from scratch a formidable political organization, one that beat an all but anointed favorite who at the outset had every advantage, including the support of party insiders and a hefty war chest.

Relying on small donations and volunteers, Obama assembled a broad coalition of supporters—one that included independents and crossover Republicans—not by running to the center or trying to out-muscle Republicans on national security but by offering a more peaceable alternative. When the smear campaigns against his race, religion and patriotism escalated, he endured by sticking to the issues and by rejecting "the kind of politics that uses religion as a wedge and patriotism as a bludgeon."

Those words, spoken by Obama in St. Paul at the same podium where John McCain will accept his party's nomination, signaled the presumptive nominee's eagerness to get past the Democratic primary's most bitter moments and his readiness to confront the Republican attacks to come. However the question of Hillary Clinton's future role is settled, the Obama campaign must find a way to wash away the sour aftertaste of her campaign's unsavory tactics and to harness the passion she has inspired—no simple task, and one that her nonconcession speech June 3 in New York did not make any easier.

But Clinton's campaign—which offered the exciting prospect of a woman shattering the ultimate glass ceiling—could still leave a positive legacy, if she spends the remainder of this election season promoting the Democratic nominee along with her own best policy ideas about how to address the healthcare and housing crises—rather than pursuing an endgame that only her most die-hard supporters (and cynical Republicans) can cheer.

Assuming Clinton and Obama find a way to work together, the scenario for the general election is quite hopeful. We have a massively energized, if still raw, Democratic electorate. Obama and Clinton each drew nearly twice as many votes as any GOP candidate. And in the general election, rather than a long race with few substantive differences, we have a short race—just five months—with huge policy differences between the parties on nearly every issue: from the war to healthcare to the home foreclosure crisis and the stumbling economy.

Of course, this is not the sort of discussion that an ideologically exhausted Republican Party and conservative movement wants to have. But the Democratic nominee has bet his candidacy on the proposition that Americans hunger for a real discussion of the issues and that they are ready to "turn the page on the policies of the past." The general election will put this premise—and Obama's faith in the "basic decency" of the American people—to the test.

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Michael Kazin: The Short of It

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Whom should Obama pick for VP?

AROUND THE NATION

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WEB LETTERS

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The Antiwar Plank

Democrats were clearly seen as running on an antiwar platform in 2006, and they won big, grabbing control of both houses of Congress. The lesson should have been clear: when the party defines itself as antiwar, it wins. But after a year and a half of wrangling between Congressional Democrats and the Bush Administration over Iraq, that definition has blurred. So now, even as Democrats are poised to nominate a candidate who opposed attacking Iraq, key Congressional supporters of the likely nominee, Senator Barack Obama, and his chief challenger, Senator Hillary Clinton, are working together to craft a platform that bluntly positions the Democrats as the party that will bring the troops home and change the policies that sent them to the Middle East. So far, fifty House members, all superdelegates, have signed a letter endorsing the antiwar language.

COMMENT

"On the issues of Iraq and foreign policy, Democrats can't be vague or fuzzy," argue Representatives Barbara Lee, an Obama backer; Jim McGovern, a Clinton backer; and Sam Farr, uncommitted until after the primaries, in an open letter to delegates to the Democratic National Convention. The "Democratic Platform that will be ratified at the Convention in Denver will form our core statement of principles as a party for the next four years, principles that we will unite around in both the general election and beyond," they add. "With only months remaining before we unite as a party in August, it is critical that we take action now to ensure that a clear statement is made in our platform: we will end the war in Iraq; the Republican Party will not."

These influential superdelegates agreed, even while the presidential race divided them, to unite to support platform language that calls for: "an end to the war in Iraq by initiating the safe and secure withdrawal of all US combat forces, leaving no permanent military bases behind; a robust diplomatic surge in the Middle East and beyond that includes negotiations with the Iranian government without preconditions that make sitting down to talk impossible; an end to the use of torture and the closure of our prison at Guantánamo Bay."

Party platforms are often dismissed as meaningless. But presidential candidates and Congressional leaders do not treat them as such, and neither should antiwar activists. In writing the platform the relationship between the candidate and the party base is defined, and the message for the fall campaign is framed. Four years ago, after Democratic convention delegates finalized an agenda for the party's campaign, Representative Jesse Jackson Jr. dismissed it as "a cautious platform." The chair of the party's platform committee, Representative Rosa DeLauro, said simply, "It reflects John Kerry." That was the problem. The platform's "transparent vagaries on Iraq"—to quote antiwar activist Tom Hayden—signaled a tepid approach to the war debate that ceded vital ground to the Republicans. When Howard Dean and Dennis Kucinich supporters attempted to add antiwar language to the platform, Kerry's man, former National Security Adviser Sandy Berger, rushed in to block them and bragged, "We didn't give up anything." Nor did they gain anything, as the results of that fall's election demonstrated.

The House members who want strong antiwar language in this year's platform aren't trying to push Obama around; rough-

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Noted.

THE SPOKESMAN SPEAKS: What **Scott McClellan** wrote in his new book, *What Happened: Inside the Bush White House and Washington's Culture of Deception*, about the Administration's propaganda campaign to promote and defend the occupation of Iraq was not a revelation. It was confirmation that the White House has played fast and loose with the truth in a time of war. Depending on how one reads the Constitution, that may or may not be an impeachable offense. But McClellan's assertion that top presidential aides, perhaps with the cooperation of the Vice President, conspired to obstruct justice by lying about their role in the plot to destroy the reputation of former Ambassador **Joe Wilson**, a critic of the rush to war, and his wife, former CIA agent **Valerie Plame**, demands a response from Congress.

When White House insiders leak classified information, manipulate media coverage and otherwise employ their immense power to punish dissenters, Congress does not have any other option. It has a constitutional duty to check and balance an errant executive branch. That the former White House spokesman—with his claim that the President said he authorized the selective release of classified information to reporters covering the Wilson story—links the wrongdoing directly to Bush ups the ante even further. Florida Congressman **Bob Wexler**, the House Judiciary Committee's most ardent advocate of executive accountability, is right when he says, "Scott McClellan must now appear before the House Judiciary Committee under oath to tell Congress and the American people how President Bush, Vice President **Dick Cheney**, **Karl Rove**, **Scooter Libby** and White House officials deliberately orchestrated a massive propaganda campaign to sell the war in Iraq to the American people." Wexler, who has campaigned for the opening of impeachment hearings against Cheney, knows there are plenty of top Democrats who would prefer that Congress go quiet in this election year. But he also recognizes that if a system that relies on a clear separation of powers is to survive, the evidence of deceit and lawlessness by the Bush/Cheney Administration "cannot be tolerated by this Congress." JOHN NICHOLS

IRAQ INDEX, PART TWO: Number of US Embassy employees in Baghdad: 1,000

Number of US Embassy employees in Baghdad deemed fluent in Arabic by the State Department: 10

Percentage of US combat troops who are Latino: 17.5

Percentage of the US population that is Latino: 14.8

Pay per day for a US Army sergeant in Iraq: $71.53

Pay per day for a Blackwater "protective security specialist": $1,221.62

Pay per day for General Petraeus: $493.15

Pay per day for a Sunni militia fighter in Anbar province: $16 DAVE MORRIS

CITIZEN GEORGE: British activist and author **George Monbiot**, who pens a weekly column for the *Guardian*, recently attempted a citizen's arrest of neocon war hawk and former ambassador to the UN **John Bolton** at the annual **Hay Festival of Literature and the Arts** in Hay-on-Wye, Wales. Monbiot was thwarted by what he calls "two of the biggest gorillas I have ever seen." Despite his "humiliating" tangle with security guards, Monbiot remains undeterred; he has mentioned pursuing a similar course with former British Prime Minister **Tony Blair** and wrote about *l'affaire Bolton* on the *Guardian*'s Comment Is Free blog:

"I had no intention of arresting John Bolton, the former under-secretary of state at the US state department, when I arrived at the Hay festival. But during a panel discussion about the Iraq war, I remarked that the greatest crime of the 21st century had become so normalised that one of its authors was due to visit the festival to promote his book. I proposed that someone should attempt a citizens' arrest, in the hope of instilling a fear of punishment among those who plan illegal wars. After the session I realised that I couldn't call on other people to do something I wasn't prepared to do myself.…

"The Nuremberg principles, which arose from the prosecution of Nazi war criminals, define as an international crime the 'planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances.' Bolton appears to have 'participated in a common plan' to prepare for the war (also defined by the principles as a crime) by inserting the false claim that Iraq was seeking to procure uranium from Niger into a state department factsheet.…

"Demonstration has two meanings. Non-violent direct action is both a protest and an exposition. It seeks to demonstrate truths which have been overlooked or forgotten. I sought to remind people that the greatest crime of the 21st century remains unprosecuted, and remains a great crime. If you have read this far, I have succeeded."

GETTING RELIGION: We are pleased to note that **Mohamad Bazzi** has won the **American Academy of Religion**'s award for best in-depth reporting on religion. Bazzi, the former Middle East bureau chief at *Newsday* and the Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow at the **Council on Foreign Relations**, took first place in the opinion-writing category for two articles in *The Nation*—"Muqtada al-Sadr's Power Grab" (December 21, 2007) and "Lebanon's Bloody Summer" (July 10, 2007)—as well as for a *Newsday* editorial. One judge praised Bazzi's "clearly stated and well supported" articles as a "must-read for anyone trying to understand the political situation in the Middle East." Cheers to Bazzi!

DELEGATE YEE: Army chaplain **James Yee** is headed to the Democratic National Convention—as a Washington State delegate pledged to **Barack Obama**. Readers may recall that in 2003 Yee—who served at Gitmo, where he tangled with officials over the treatment of detainees—was wrongly accused by the Army of sedition, espionage, mutiny and aiding the enemy. After he spent seventy-six days in solitary confinement, all charges against him were dropped, and he was honorably discharged. But the smear campaign continues on right-wing blogs, some of which have taken to calling the Obama supporter a "pro-terrorist Muslim."

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ly half are Obama backers. Rather, they suggest, they are prodding the party to do what is necessary to prevail in November. "The Democratic Party needs this," says Barbara Lee. "It will give the nominee the foundation and the [appeal to the] base to move forward and win."

Will the platform process be flexible enough to accept what these superdelegates are offering? Perhaps. The closeness of this year's nominating contest and the fact that the process will be led by backers of Obama, Clinton and John Edwards guarantees a more diverse platform committee, one that will be disinclined to rubber-stamp cautious language produced by consultants. The Win Without War coalition is mounting a campaign to get superdelegates to back the antiwar planks—and it will deliver petitions supporting it to regional platform hearings this summer and at the convention—while Progressive Democrats of America is working closely with Jim McGovern, who is likely to emerge as an outspoken grassroots supporter of the move. Says McGovern of the Democrats, "We need to demonstrate that we get it, and the platform is the place to do that." JOHN NICHOLS

Nation Notes

We are proud to announce that Walter Mosley will be joining our editorial board. Mosley is the author of twenty-nine critically acclaimed books, which have been translated into twenty-one languages. His popular mysteries featuring Easy Rawlins began with *Devil in a Blue Dress* in 1990 and include *Black Betty*, *A Little Yellow Dog* and *Cinnamon Kiss*, all of which were *New York Times* bestsellers. Mosley has won numerous awards, including the Anisfield-Wolf Award, an honor given for works that increase the appreciation and understanding of race in America, as well as a Grammy Award for his liner notes for *Richard Pryor…And It's Deep Too! The Complete Warner Bros. Recordings (1968–1992)*. Mosley created with New York's City College a publishing degree program aimed at young urban residents, the only such program in the country. He has served on the board of directors of the National Book Awards and the Full Frame Documentary Film Festival, currently serves on the boards of the Poetry Society of America and TransAfrica, and is a past president of the Mystery Writers of America.

We also take this occasion to announce the creation of a sports department—the first in our magazine's 143-year history—with Dave Zirin as correspondent. Zirin, who was Press Action's 2005 and 2006 Sportswriter of the Year, was called by Robert Lipsyte "the best young sportswriter in the United States." He is a columnist for *SLAM* magazine and CNNSI.com, a regular contributor to *The Nation* and a frequent commentator for the *Los Angeles Times*. Zirin's first book, *What's My Name, Fool? Sports and Resistance in the United States*, has entered its second printing. He is also the author of *Welcome to the Terrordome: The Pain, Politics, and Promise of Sports*. Zirin is a frequent contributor to ESPN's *Outside the Lines*, ESPN Classic, the BBC's *Extratime* and *Democracy Now!* Zirin will continue to write regularly for *The Nation* on the intersection of politics and sports.

Capitol Climate Change

A day before Barack Obama clinched the Democratic presidential nomination, his colleagues in the Senate began preparing for the biggest global warming vote in Congressional history. America's Climate Security Act would for the first time impose large mandatory cuts on greenhouse gas emissions. The bill is not expected to become law, if only because of George Bush's promised veto. But the Senate debate could reveal a lot about how the next Congress and the next President, whether Obama or John McCain, will address the most urgent issue facing humanity.

COMMENT

In contrast to Bush, McCain and Obama recognize climate change as a top-priority threat that requires action now. Environmentally, Obama's proposals are stronger. The Democrat favors what science says is necessary: an 80 percent cut in emissions, from 1990 levels, by 2050. Obama would achieve this through a "cap and trade" system that sells corporations permits to emit greenhouse gases and then invests the revenue in green energy development and rebates to Americans hit with higher energy prices. McCain, who co-sponsored the last important climate bill, in 2005, supports a 60 percent emissions cut by 2050. But it is doubtful that McCain's approach would actually deliver such large cuts, since his cap-and-trade system would give most permits away free, a provision environmentalists attack as a corporate giveaway. Obama, by contrast, proposes to sell all emissions permits at auction. Obama is also much less enthusiastic than McCain about nuclear power as a response to climate change.

The Climate Security Act—whose cap-and-trade system aims to reduce emissions by 19 percent by 2020 and 71 percent by 2050—goes further than McCain's proposal but falls well short of Obama's. It also confronts both candidates with a political minefield. With gas hovering near $4 a gallon, politicians are wary of any measure that could raise prices even higher. Further complicating matters is an explosive new study that says that reversing climate change will require a swift end to burning coal. Neither candidate seems likely to endorse that idea (though Obama's website says he'll consider it) since it would all but doom his chances in Appalachia and other coal regions in November.

The coal ban recommendation comes from James Hansen of NASA, the dean of America's climate scientists. In April Hansen co-wrote a study that found that global greenhouse gas emissions must be cut much more sharply than anyone previously assumed if humanity wishes to avoid the worst scenarios of climate change. The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is now 385 parts per million and climbing 2 ppm a year. Alarmingly, Hansen's study concluded that 350 ppm is the maximum compatible with a livable planet. In other words, humanity is already in the danger zone and must reverse course rapidly.

"We need a moratorium on the construction of traditional coal-fired power plants by 2010 and a phaseout by 2030," Hansen told me. This farewell to coal "has to be global," he added, and include China and India, which insist that burning coal is essential to lifting their people out of poverty. Yet eliminating coal burning is not unthinkable. Already about

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Calvin Trillin, Deadline Poet

What Surviving Bush Loyalists In the White House Would Like to Say Privately to Scott McClellan

We think you know the trouble you've begot, Scott.
So don't expect from us a thanks-a-lot, Scott.
If you were here, we'd give you such a swat, Scott.
You knew that loyalty is all we've got, Scott.
(It's obvious that Camelot it's not, Scott.
The chief's as popular as, say, Pol Pot, Scott.)
And yet you chose this time to send a shot, Scott,
Toward him, who's paid you since you were a tot, Scott,
Confirming that our neocon-ish plot, Scott,
Hyped weapons just 'cause we were hot to trot, Scott.
And Condi thinks you're such a little snot, Scott.
Your book has got her knickers in a knot, Scott.
That "mushroom cloud" was something folks forgot,
Scott,
Until your talk of propaganda's spot, Scott,
In launching what's become our biggest blot, Scott.
You're hoping that this book will buy a yacht, Scott?
Well, may you sail it down to hell and rot, Scott.

sixty of the 150 US coal plants planned a year ago have been canceled and another fifty are being contested. Moreover, a recent article in *Scientific American* suggested that solar thermal power could supply all of America's electricity. A self-described conservative, Hansen blames "special interests" for blocking these and other green energy solutions. "There's no reason we can't make the changes necessary except that the fossil fuel industries are determining governments' policies," he said.

The Climate Security Act is a case in point, argue Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace, which have urged defeat of the bill if it is not strengthened. Contrary to the bill's stated goal of 71 percent emissions cuts by 2050, the Environmental Protection Agency estimates that it would deliver cuts of just 25 percent. Why? Largely because the bill gives away 49 percent of the emissions permits, thus reducing the incentive for corporations and consumers to switch to greener energy sources. Nevertheless, most environmental groups and former Vice President Al Gore support the bill while urging that it be improved.

At press time, it remained unclear what role Obama and McCain would play in the Senate debate. But whatever the outcome, the fight for a new policy on climate change is just beginning. The real showdown comes next year, when a new Congress and President tackle the issue afresh. Despite its weaknesses, the Climate Security Act marks a decisive shift; its rhetorical commitment to 71 percent emissions reductions goes well beyond what was considered politically realistic even a year ago. But the earth does not compromise. If Hansen is right, the government will have to take much larger steps, and soon, if we are to salvage a livable planet. MARK HERTSGAARD

Mark Hertsgaard, The Nation's environment correspondent, is a fellow of The Nation Institute and the author of five books.

Comix Nation

by R.O. BLECHMAN

CALCUTTA 2010
Hello?
Could you repeat that? What? What???
No, I'm afraid we're not interested
Another solicitation! Why can't these Americans speak proper Hindi?!

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Alexander Cockburn

The Hope Giver

For now at least, it's au revoir, Mrs. Clinton, though it's possible we'll see you again soon enough, as Obama's pick as nominee for veep. Personally I'd much rather see him choose Chuck Hagel or Jim Webb. The nation badly needs eternal rest from the Clintons as well as the Bushes. It's time to move on.

The night Obama clinched it, my neighbor Joe Paff called to say he thought Obama's victory speech in St. Paul was very impressive. Joe hastily added that this didn't mitigate his overall detestation of the evil empire and all it stands for. I'd already read Obama's remarks online and, as so often in the past, found my eyes glazing over at all the talk of "defining moments." I find myself resistant to Obama's rhetorical style the same way I found listening to Tony Blair unendurable.

There was a time when Americans didn't expect the evangelical sermonizing now required of a presidential candidate. As Gene Healy writes in the June issue of *Reason*, "The chief executive of the United States is no longer a mere constitutional officer charged with faithful execution of the laws. He is a soul nourisher, a hope giver, a living American talisman against hurricanes, terrorism, economic downturns, and spiritual malaise." For Healy, the infantilism of these expectations congealed in the question a ponytailed male social worker asked Clinton, Bush Sr. and Perot in 1992: "I ask the three of you, how can we, as symbolically the children of the future president, expect the three of you to meet our needs, the needs in housing and in crime and you name it."

Having defined himself as the candidate of change and inspirational hope, Obama's been busy making it clear that when it comes to serious issues like the American Empire, change is parsed as running the planet with greater efficiency. A real candidate of change would announce that by the end of his first term America will have withdrawn from at least half the roughly 1,000 overseas bases it occupies, quitting the rest at the end of eight years.

Obama's assignment these days is reassurance that, yes, he can wield the big stick, draw down troops in Iraq and redeploy them in Afghanistan, arm the Lebanese army. Take his speech to the Cuban American National Foundation in Miami on May 23: "Throughout my entire life, there has been injustice and repression in Cuba. Never, in my lifetime, have the people of Cuba known true freedom.... This is the terrible and tragic status quo that we have known for half a century—of elections that are anything but free or fair.... I won't stand for this injustice, you will not stand for this injustice, and together we will stand up for freedom in Cuba.... I will maintain the embargo."

As Fidel Castro remarked in *Granma*, in the wake of this oration: "Presidential candidate Obama's speech may be formulated as follows: hunger for the nation, remittances as charitable hand-outs and visits to Cuba as propaganda for consumerism and the unsustainable way of life behind it."

Fidel added, "José Hernandez, one of the Cuban American National Foundation directors whom Obama praises in his speech, was none other than the owner of the Caliber-50 automatic rifle, equipped with telescopic and infrared sights, which was confiscated, by chance, along with other deadly weapons while being transported by sea to Venezuela, where the Foundation had planned to assassinate the writer of these lines."

Aside from the ritual ranting about Cuba and onslaughts on the Chávez regime in Venezuela, Obama had words of comfort for the Uribe regime in Colombia: "When I am President, we will continue the Andean Counter-Drug Program and update it to meet evolving challenges. We will fully support Colombia's fight against the FARC. We'll work with the government to end the reign of terror from right-wing paramilitaries. [The paramilitaries work hand in glove with the government.] We will support Colombia's right to strike terrorists who seek safe haven across its borders." Note the endorsement of Colombia's foray into Ecuador to assassinate a FARC leader.

After invoking hope and change in St. Paul, Obama rushed to Washington the next day for some ritual groveling to AIPAC: "We will also use all elements of American power to pressure Iran. I will do everything in my power to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. Everything in my power. Everything." Israel should get whatever it wants, and an undivided Jerusalem should be its capital.

Wishful thinkers comfort themselves with the thought that deep in the undergrowth, biding his time, is the "real" Obama, a progressive, even radical, fellow. They're like Pascal, pondering his bet:

> If I saw no signs of a divinity, I would fix myself in denial.
> If I saw everywhere the marks of a Creator, I would repose
> peacefully in faith. But seeing too much to deny Him,
> and too little to assure me, I am in a pitiful state, and I
> would wish a hundred times that if a God sustains nature
> It would reveal Him without ambiguity.

It's like looking for the "real" Cressida in Shakespeare's play, whereas in fact there are only successive Cressidas, as she refashions herself amid new circumstances. In the end Pascal said it made sense just to bet that there is a God. Democrats, despite the bleak testimony of the form sheet, make the same wager decade after decade.

The assignment of every supposed liberal on the presidential campaign trail is to engage in the task of political redefinition, so that bankers, CEOs of the Fortune 500, Rupert Murdoch, the Sulzbergers, the Grahams, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Abe Foxman and the others all deem that candidate "safe." Lately Obama has shown an eerie and relentless skill in these tasks of reassurance. Though necessary to a certain extent, it's an ominous talent. ■

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Katha Pollitt

Iron My Skirt

Hillary Clinton came *this* close. In fact, she hasn't formally conceded. Nobody really understands why: why she stuck it out this long, given the math, and why she gave such a grudging, graceless version of her stump speech after the South Dakota primary clinched the nomination for Barack Obama. Suggestions I've heard are not very flattering: she hopes to whittle down her multimillion-dollar campaign debt with donations from the deluded die-hards screaming *Denver! Denver!* She wants the number-two spot. She's a crazy narcissistic rhymes-with-rich. Maybe she's just ticked off because pundits have been trying to hustle her off the stage ever since her third-place finish in the Iowa caucuses.

Some think Clinton's loss, and the psychodrama surrounding it, will set women back. I think they're wrong. Love her or loathe her, the big story here is Americans saw a woman who was a serious, popular, major-party candidate. Clinton showed herself to be tough, tireless, supersmart and definitely ready to lead on that famous Day One. She raised a ton of money and won 17.5 million votes from men and women. She was exciting, too: she and Obama galvanized voters for six long months—in some early contests, each of them racked up more votes than all the Republican candidates combined. Once the bitterness of the present moment has faded, that's what people will remember. Because she normalized the concept of a woman running for President, she made it easier for women to run for every office, including the White House. That is one reason women and men of every party and candidate preference, and every ethnicity too, owe Hillary Clinton a standing ovation, even if they can't stand her.

There's another reason to be grateful to her. Clinton's run has put to rest the myth that we are living in a postfeminist wonderland in which all that stands in women's path is women themselves. Like a magnet—was it the pantsuit?—Clinton drew out the nation's misogyny in all its jeering glory and put it where we could all get a good look at it. "Iron my shirt" hecklers. Wearers of Bros Over Hos T-shirts and buyers of Hillary nutcrackers. Fans of the Citizens United Not Timid website (check the acronym). Vats of sexist nastiness splattered across the Comments section of hundreds of blogs and websites. It's as if every obscene phone caller and every exhibitionist in America decided to become an amateur political pundit.

As for the real pundits, thank you, Hillary, for showing us the snickering belittling of women that passes for media commentary: Rush Limbaugh, no Adonis, wondering out loud if "the country" was ready to watch a woman age in the White House; Chris Matthews, Don Imus and Tucker Carlson with their litany of insults—she-devil, Satan, witch, Antichrist, Lady Macbeth. NPR's Ken Rudin compared her to Glenn Close's indestructible bunny-boiler character in *Fatal Attraction*. And surely a special prize goes to Keith Olbermann for his indignant, hysterical bombast after Clinton's ham-handed reference to RFK's assassination. Rarely has men's terror of women with more brains than a Bratz doll been on such public display. And, of course, men were what we mostly saw up there on the small screen, yakking and blathering away.

It wasn't just men, though. Thank you, Hillary, for letting us get a good look at female sexism: the catty fashionistas and Style page dingbats obsessing over her clothes, her hair, her weight, her cleavage, her laugh. Air America's Randi Rhodes calling her a "big fucking whore," Maureen Dowd offering up her twice-weekly dose of vinegar and dozens of women writers musing prettily about why they and their friends all hate Hillary. Could it be they're jealous? Not, as novelist Mary Gordon has suggested, of Hillary's bagging of sexy Bill (yuck) but of her unsinkable ambition and drive. Hillary's run upset the carefully balanced apple cart of trade-off and resignation and semi-suppressed frustration that is how women of the professional class accommodate to patriarchy lite.

Please note: I don't claim Clinton lost because she's a woman. (I think it was her Iraq vote, which she could never justify or renounce; assorted strategic mistakes; the bumptious interventions of her husband; and, most of all, that Barack Obama, a prodigiously gifted, charismatic politician, took the banner of change away from her.) The attacks on her may even have helped by making women voters identify with her. In New Hampshire, pols' and pundits' sexist mockery of her "misting" made women rally to her side and revitalized her campaign.

Now those women, not all white and not all working class, are on the political map, and so are the issues that made them identify with Clinton: the glass ceiling and the sticky floor, the inequality built into marriage and family life, sexual harassment and assault, lack of support for caring work—paid or unpaid—and, underlying them all, a fundamental lack of respect that over the years can make a woman feel fed up to here. It's an irony of this campaign that Clinton was seen by the pundit class as a kind of über-diva whose attempts to reach out were transparently phony (beer and Canadian Club, anyone?) and yet millions of ordinary women—white, Latino and black—saw their struggles mirrored in hers. I won't deny that there's racism and xenophobia in the mix for some—hatred of Obama as affirmative action trickster and secret Muslim. It's incredibly important for Clinton to do the right thing and rally these women to Obama, and I wish I felt surer that she would rise to the occasion.

She could begin by pointing out that Obama is pro-woman and prochoice and as President will pursue policies to benefit all women—on labor, healthcare, sexual violence and many other issues. She could tell her supporters a vote for McCain is crazy. She could even tell them that a biracial man in the White House will make it easier for voters to imagine other nontraditional kinds of Presidents—like the next woman who decides to run.

Whoever that woman is, though, she'd better have the hide of a rhinoceros. ■

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BLACKWATER'S PRIVATE SPIES

THE NOTORIOUS MERCENARY FIRM IS NOW A ONE-STOP SHOP FOR SECURITY OUTSOURCING

JEREMY SCAHILL

This past September, the secretive mercenary company Blackwater USA found its name splashed across front pages throughout the world after the company's shooters gunned down seventeen Iraqi civilians in Baghdad's Nisour Square. But by early 2008, Blackwater had largely receded from the headlines save for the occasional blip on the media radar sparked by Congressman Henry Waxman's ongoing investigations into its activities. Its forces remained deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan, and business continued to pour in. In the two weeks directly following Nisour Square, Blackwater signed more than $144 million in contracts with the State Department for "protective services" in Iraq and Afghanistan alone and, over the following weeks and months, won millions more in contracts with other federal entities like the Coast Guard, the Navy and the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center.

Blackwater's Iraq contract was extended in April, but the company is by no means betting the house on its long-term presence there. While the firm is quietly maintaining its Iraq work, it is aggressively pursuing other business opportunities.

In September it was revealed that Blackwater had been "tapped" by the Pentagon's Counter Narcoterrorism Technology Program Office to compete for a share of a five-year, $15 billion budget "to fight terrorists with drug-trade ties." According to the *Army Times*, the contract "could include anti-drug technologies and equipment, special vehicles and aircraft, communications, security training, pilot training, geographic information systems and in-field support." A spokesperson for another company bidding for the work said that "80 percent of the work will be overseas." As Richard Douglas, a deputy assistant secretary of defense, explained, "The fact is, we use Blackwater to do a lot of our training of counternarcotics police in Afghanistan. I have to say that Blackwater has done a very good job."

Such an arrangement could find Blackwater operating in an arena with the godfathers of the war industry, such as Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman and Raytheon. It could also see Blackwater expanding into Latin America, joining other private security companies well established in the region. The massive US security company DynCorp is already deployed in Colombia, Bolivia and other countries as part of the "war on drugs." In Colombia alone, US military contractors are receiving nearly half the $630 million in annual US military aid for the country. Just south of the US border, the United States has launched Plan Mexico, a $1.5 billion counternarcotics program. This and similar plans could provide lucrative business opportunities for Blackwater and other companies. "Blackwater USA's enlistment in the drug war," observed journalist John Ross, would be "a direct challenge to its stiffest competitor, DynCorp—up until now, the Dallas-based corporation has locked up 94 percent of all private drug war security contracts." The *New York Times* reported

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that the contract could be Blackwater's "biggest job ever."

As populist movements grow stronger in Latin America, threatening US financial interests as well as the standing of right-wing US political allies in the region, the "war on drugs" is becoming an increasingly central part of US counterinsurgency efforts. It allows for more training of foreign security forces through the private sector—away from Congressional oversight—and a deployment of personnel from US war corporations. With US forces stretched thin, sending private security companies to Latin America offers Washington a "small footprint" alternative to the politically and militarily problematic deployment of active-duty US troops. In a January report by the United Nations working group on mercenaries, international investigators found that "an emerging trend in Latin America but also in other regions of the world indicates situations of private security companies protecting transnational extractive corporations whose employees are often involved in suppressing the legitimate social protest of communities and human rights and environmental organizations of the areas where these corporations operate."

If there is one quality that is evident from examining Blackwater's business history, it is the company's ability to take advantage of emerging war and conflict markets. Throughout the decade of Blackwater's existence, its creator, Erik Prince, has aggressively built his empire into a structure paralleling the US national security apparatus. "Prince wants to vault Blackwater into the major leagues of U.S. military contracting, taking advantage of the movement to privatize all kinds of government security," reported the *Wall Street Journal* shortly after Nisour Square. "The company wants to be a one-stop shop for the U.S. government on missions to which it won't commit American forces. This is a niche with few established competitors."

In addition to providing armed forces for war and conflict zones and a wide range of military and police training services, Blackwater does a robust, multimillion-dollar business through its aviation division. It also has a growing maritime division and other national and international initiatives. Among these, Blackwater is in Japan, where its forces protect the US ballistic missile defense system, which, according to *Stars and Stripes*, "points high-powered radio waves westward toward mainland Asia to hunt for enemy missiles headed east toward America or its allies." Meanwhile, early this year, *Defense News* reported, "Blackwater is training members of the Taiwanese National Security Bureau's (NSB's) special protection service, which guards the president. The NSB is responsible for the overall security of the country and was once an instrument of terrorism during the martial law period. Today, according to its Web site, the NSB is responsible for 'national intelligence work, special protective service and unified cryptography.'" Former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto reportedly tried to hire Blackwater to protect her as she campaigned for the presidency in 2007. Conflicting reports indicated that either the US State Department or the Pakistani government vetoed the plan. She was assassinated in December.

What could prove to be one of Blackwater's most profitable and enduring enterprises is one of the company's most secretive initiatives—a move into the world of privatized intelligence services. In April 2006, Prince quietly began building Total Intelligence Solutions, which boasts that it "brings CIA-style" services to the open market for Fortune 500 companies. Among its offerings are "surveillance and countersurveillance, deployed intelligence collection, and rapid safeguarding of employees or other key assets."

As the United States finds itself in the midst of the most radical privatization agenda in its history, few areas have seen as dramatic a transformation to privatized services as the world of intelligence. "This is the magnet now. Everything is being attracted to these private companies in terms of individuals and expertise and functions that were normally done by the intelligence community," says former CIA division chief and senior analyst Melvin Goodman. "My major concern is the lack of accountability, the lack of responsibility. The entire industry is essentially out of control. It's outrageous."

Blackwater's founder, Erik Prince, has aggressively built his empire into a structure paralleling the US national security apparatus.

Last year R.J. Hillhouse, a blogger who investigates the clandestine world of private contractors and US intelligence, obtained documents from the office of the Directorate of National Intelligence (DNI) showing that Washington spends some $42 billion annually on private intelligence contractors, up from $17.5 billion in 2000. That means 70 percent of the US intelligence budget is going to private companies. Perhaps it is no surprise, then, that the head of DNI is Mike McConnell, the former chair of the board of the Intelligence and National Security Alliance, the private intelligence industry's trade association.

Total Intelligence, which opened for business in February 2007, is a fusion of three entities bought up by Prince: the Terrorism Research Center, Technical Defense and The Black Group—Blackwater vice chair Cofer Black's consulting agency. The company's leadership reads like a Who's Who of the CIA's "war on terror" operations after 9/11. In addition to the twenty-eight-year CIA veteran Black, who is chair of Total Intelligence, the company's executives include CEO Robert Richer, the former associate deputy director of the agency's Directorate of Operations and the second-ranking official in charge of clandestine operations. From 1999 to 2004, Richer was head of the CIA's Near East and South Asia Division, where he ran clandestine operations throughout the Middle East and South Asia. As part of his duties, he was the CIA liaison with Jordan's King Abdullah, a key US ally and Blackwater client,

Jeremy Scahill's international bestseller, Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army *(Nation Books), has just been released in a revised and updated paperback, from which this article is adapted. He is a Puffin Foundation Writing Fellow at The Nation Institute.*

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and briefed George W. Bush on the burgeoning Iraqi resistance in its early stages.

Total Intelligence's chief operating officer is Enrique "Ric" Prado, a twenty-four-year CIA veteran and former senior executive officer in the Directorate of Operations. He spent more than a decade working in the CIA's Counterterrorist Center and ten years with the CIA's "paramilitary" Special Operations Group. Prado and Black worked closely at the CIA. Prado also served in Latin America with Jose Rodriguez, who gained infamy late last year after it was revealed that as director of the National Clandestine Service at the CIA he was allegedly responsible for destroying videotapes of interrogations of prisoners, during which "enhanced interrogation techniques," including waterboarding, were reportedly used. Richer told the *New York Times* he recalled many conversations with Rodriguez, about the tapes. "He would always say, 'I'm not going to let my people get nailed for something they were ordered to do,'" Richer said of his former boss. Before the scandal, there were reports that Blackwater had been "aggressively recruiting" Rodriguez. He has since retired from the CIA.

Prince's Total Intelligence, staffed by veterans of the CIA's 'war on terror' operations, is leveraging the inside connections of its executives.

The leadership of Total Intelligence also includes Craig Johnson, a twenty-seven-year CIA officer who specialized in Central and South America, and Caleb "Cal" Temple, who joined the company straight out of the Defense Intelligence Agency, where he served from 2004 to '06 as chief of the Office of Intelligence Operations in the Joint Intelligence Task Force—Combating Terrorism. According to his Total Intelligence bio, Temple directed the "DIA's 24/7 analytic terrorism target development and other counterterrorism intelligence activities in support of military operations worldwide. He also oversaw 24/7 global counterterrorism indications and warning analysis for the U.S. Defense Department." The company also boasts officials drawn from the Drug Enforcement Agency and the FBI.

Total Intelligence is run out of an office on the ninth floor of a building in the Ballston area of Arlington, Virginia. Its "Global Fusion Center," complete with large-screen TVs broadcasting international news channels and computer stations staffed by analysts surfing the web, "operates around the clock every day of the year" and is modeled after the CIA's counterterrorist center, once run by Black. The firm employs at least sixty-five full-time staff—some estimates say it's closer to 100. "Total Intel brings the…skills traditionally honed by CIA operatives directly to the board room," Black said when the company launched. "With a service like this, CEOs and their security personnel will be able to respond to threats quickly and confidently—whether it's determining which city is safest to open a new plant in or working to keep employees out of harm's way after a terrorist attack."

Black insists, "This is a completely legal enterprise. We break no laws. We don't go anywhere near breaking laws. We don't have to." But what services Total Intelligence is providing, and to whom, is shrouded in secrecy. It is clear, though, that the company is leveraging the reputations and inside connections of its executives. "Cofer can open doors," Richer told the *Washington Post* in 2007. "I can open doors. We can generally get in to see who we need to see. We don't help pay bribes. We do everything within the law, but we can deal with the right minister or person." Black told the paper he and Richer spend a lot of their time traveling. "I am discreet in where I go and who I see. I spend most of my time dealing with senior people in governments, making connections." But it is clear that the existing connections from the former spooks' time at the agency have brought business to Total Intelligence.

Take the case of Jordan. For years, Richer worked closely with King Abdullah, as his CIA liaison. As journalist Ken Silverstein reported, "The CIA has lavishly subsidized Jordan's intelligence service, and has sent millions of dollars in recent years for intelligence training. After Richer retired, sources say, he helped Blackwater land a lucrative deal with the Jordanian government to provide the same sort of training offered by the CIA. Millions of dollars that the CIA 'invested' in Jordan walked out the door with Richer—if this were a movie, it would be a cross between *Jerry Maguire* and *Syriana*. 'People [at the agency] are pissed off,' said one source. 'Abdullah still speaks with Richer regularly, and he thinks that's the same thing as talking to us. He thinks Richer is still the man.' Except in this case it's Richer, not his client, yelling 'show me the money.'"

In a 2007 interview on the cable business network CNBC, Black was brought on as an analyst to discuss "investing in Jordan." At no point in the interview was Black identified as working for the Jordanian government. Total Intelligence was described as "a corporate consulting firm that includes investment strategy," while "Ambassador Black" was introduced as "a twenty-eight-year veteran of the CIA," the "top counterterror guy" and "a key planner for the breathtakingly rapid victory of American forces that toppled the Taliban in Afghanistan." Black heaped lavish praise on Jordan and its monarchy. "You have leadership, King Abdullah, His Majesty King Abdullah, who is certainly kind towards investors, very protective," Black said. "Jordan is, in our view, a very good investment. There are some exceptional values there." He said Jordan is in a region where there are "numerous commodities that are being produced and doing well."

With no hint of the brutality behind the exodus, Black argued that the flood of Iraqi refugees fleeing the violence of the US occupation was good for potential investors in Jordan. "We get something like 600, 700,000 Iraqis that have moved from Iraq into Jordan that require cement, furniture, housing and the like. So it is a—it is an island of growth and potential, certainly in that immediate area. So it looks good," he said. "There are opportunities for investment. It is not all bad. Sometimes Americans need to watch a little less TV.… But there is—there is opportunity in everything. That's why you need situation awareness, and that's one of the things that our

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Black and other Total Intelligence executives have turned their CIA careers, reputations, contacts and connections into business opportunities. What they once did for the US government, they now do for private interests. It is not difficult to imagine clients feeling as though they are essentially hiring the US government to serve their own interests. In 2007 Richer told the *Post* that now that he is in the private sector, foreign military officials and others are more willing to give him information than they were when he was with the CIA. Richer recalled a conversation with a foreign general during which he was surprised at the potentially "classified" information the general revealed. When Richer asked why the general was giving him the information, he said the general responded, "If I tell it to an embassy official I've created espionage. You're a business partner."

In May, Erik Prince gave a speech in front of his family and supporters in his home state of Michigan. Security was extremely tight, and Blackwater barred cameras and tape recorders from the event. "The idea that we are a secretive facility, and nefarious, is just ridiculous," Prince told the friendly crowd of 750 gathered at the Amway Grand Plaza. In Iraq, Blackwater has banked on the idea that it is a sort of American Express card for the occupation. But for the future, Prince has a different corporate model, as he indicated in his speech. "When you send something overseas, do you use FedEx or the postal service?" he asked.

There are serious problems with this analogy. When you send something by FedEx, you can track your package and account for its whereabouts at all times. You can have your package insured against loss or damage. That has not been the case with Blackwater. The people who foot the sizable bill for its "services" almost never know, until it is too late, what Blackwater is doing, and there are apparently no consequences for Blackwater when things go lethally wrong. "We are essentially a robust temp agency," Prince told his fans in Michigan. He's right about that one. A temp agency serving the most radical privatization agenda in history. ■

Dilberts of the World, Unite!

Can a populist uprising flourish in a sector traditionally hostile to collective action?

by DAVID SIROTA

In the 1990s, dot-com celebrations were happening everywhere. From Silicon Valley to Boston, from Austin to Seattle, the geeky Lambda Lambda Lambda frat brothers from *Revenge of the Nerds* were suddenly big men on campus, starting computer companies, swimming in cash—partying, as Prince might say, like it was 1999 (it actually *was* 1999). As the kegger raged upstairs, though, a group of Microsoft employees at its headquarters in Redmond, Washington, called the Washington Alliance of Technology Workers—WashTech for short—was shrieking from the basement about an impending economic massacre. Sadly, very few were listening. Now the party's over—and a white-collar uprising is on.

If you haven't heard much about this, don't blame yourself. We live in a media environment that trumpets the price of the Apple iPhone as big financial news and adultery as major political news. But the fight WashTech is contributing to is hugely important for two reasons—one is obvious, but the other is rarely discussed.

First, the obvious: the white-collar sector is growing fast. Between 1977 and 2004 the number of professional and high-skilled US workers more than doubled. The government predicts that roughly one-third of all employment growth between

RYAN INZANA

now and 2012 will be in the white-collar sector. In contemporary America, though, sheer size is no longer the primary determinant of change. The better gauge is demographics, which brings us to the second reason this white-collar uprising is so significant: if politics and culture still react to the mass public at all, they react almost exclusively to the upper middle professional class. That's pretty awful, but it's absolutely true. Business misbehavior, for example, was rarely a Congressional focus when CEOs were cutting blue-collar wages. But when Enron's collapse hit the stock market and undermined the retirement savings of the upper middle class, lawmakers raced to pass corporate accountability legislation. Housing affordability and predatory lending received little attention in Washington when only the working poor couldn't meet their mortgage payments.

David Sirota is a bestselling author and nationally syndicated newspaper columnist. This article is adapted from his newest book, The Uprising: An Unauthorized Tour of the Populist Revolt Scaring Wall Street and Washington *(Crown).*

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But now that defaults are convulsing Wall Street, the problem is deemed a crisis. So this white-collar uprising is not just about professional office workers and their fight. It is also about whether an uprising can flourish in the very demographic the Establishment most responds to—a demographic that also happens to be skeptical of collective action.

How did WashTech begin, and what is its role in the larger uprising roiling America? Not too long ago, on a typically gray Seattle winter day, the group's president, Marcus Courtney, sat down with me at a Starbucks in the University District to tell the story. In 1993 Courtney was one of many starry-eyed college grads who migrated to Seattle just as the tech boom was moving to warp speed. He found one of those Great Jobs at Microsoft in technical support—only his job turned out to be not so great. He was one of roughly 6,000 employees known as "permatemps," a classification that allows a company to pay a temp-agency middleman for full-time, indefinite labor. The designation, which covers roughly a quarter of Microsoft workers in the Seattle area, means employers don't have to pay regular benefits.

"Around the middle of 1997," Courtney tells me, "me and my office mate were talking about how we weren't getting real raises or cost-of-living increases, and I was like, This permatemp stuff is kinda bullshit. The contract agencies are ripping us off. I was like, God, I wonder if there's an organization to help us." So he started phoning state agencies and labor councils. "Everyone was totally fucking clueless," he says. "All anyone knew about the new economy was that people make millions. No one had any idea that here in Seattle a huge percentage of the employment is contracted out." So Courtney and two others began building an e-mail list of permatemps and other high-tech workers who were interested in getting more politically active.

In December 1997 their efforts were bolstered when the *Seattle Times* published a front-page story about how Microsoft used its connections in state government to secure a regulatory change exempting high-tech companies from having to pay temps time-and-a-half for overtime. It was a screwing of bipartisan proportions: the rule change was approved by Democratic Governor Gary Locke, and it was designed to bring the state's labor regulations into conformity with federal law, which was changed by the then-Republican Congress. The *Times* also noted that the local labor movement had hung the permatemps out to dry: two unions supported the rule change after it was revised to make sure their own members were protected.

For the uprising, the episode was like a match being dropped into a pool of gasoline. Sold out by both political parties and ignored by organized labor, "we decided to get serious," Courtney tells me. From the flames of outrage, WashTech was born. The organization's mission is straightforward: to get high-tech workers to vote to form unions so they can collectively bargain for improved wages, benefits and job security.

Microsoft countered the organizing drive by claiming that the status of the workers as permatemps meant the company had no statutory obligation to listen to the union, even though roughly two-thirds of all permatemps had been working full-time for more than a year. "Issues of collective bargaining are issues between employees and their employer," said a company spokesman at the time. "In this case, the employers are

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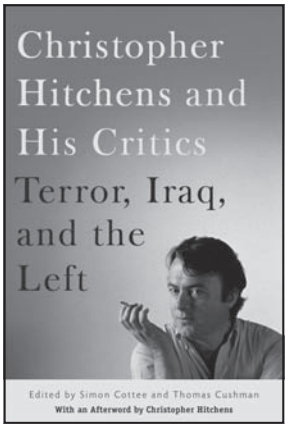
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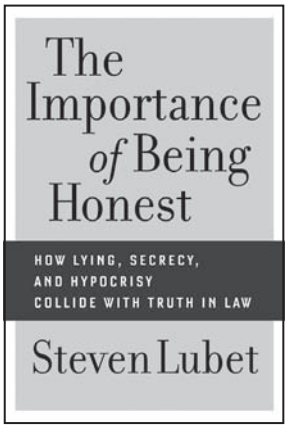

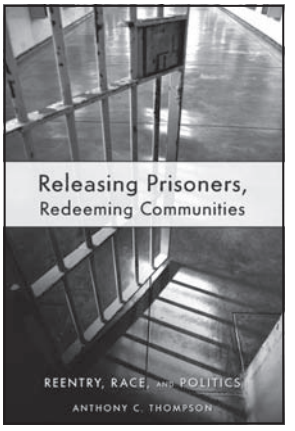

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the staffing companies." The *Times* reported that when the workers and WashTech began the byzantine process of trying to bargain with four separate temp agencies, the agencies claimed that because the workers were temps, they were not "an appropriate bargaining unit under the federal labor laws." Courtney and his colleagues were caught in no man's land—call it Dilbert's Purgatory. "Permatemps were getting the worst of all worlds," Courtney says, taking a sip of coffee.

When it came to wages, they were considered high-level computer professionals, thus not entitled to overtime pay, thanks to the state ruling and change in federal law. When it came to benefits, they were treated as temps unworthy of healthcare coverage and stock options. And when it came to basic union rights, they were treated as "a second class of subordinate workers," as the former chair of the National Labor Relations Board said at the time. They had none of the organizing privileges that other company employees enjoyed.

After two failed organizing attempts, one at Microsoft and one at Amazon.com, Courtney and his allies enlisted the aid of the Communications Workers of America to build WashTech's "at large" membership—workers who are not covered by any union contract but who are sympathetic to the cause and pay $11 a month in dues. Courtney remained visible in the local media as an increasingly effective advocate for tech workers.

'They say they can't find a qualified American, but what they really mean is they can't find a *cheap* American.' —Microsoft temp worker

WashTech finally got a break in 2005. That year 900 call-center workers at Cingular in suburban Seattle voted to form a union and affiliate with WashTech. As of mid-2007 WashTech had roughly 1,500 dues-paying members—1,100 at Cingular (now AT&T) and 400 at large. It also had an e-mail list of 17,000 subscribers. Whether WashTech's work can expand the white-collar uprising beyond that, however, is very much an open question.

Certainly the conditions seem ripe. Between 2000 and 2004, 221,000 US tech jobs were eliminated as offshore outsourcing accelerated. In 2005 the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers reported the first drop in median income for tech workers in the thirty-one years it had been producing annual wage and salary analyses. And WashTech's survey of IT workers found that the majority said their healthcare premiums had increased and their wages had either remained flat or dropped. As these trends have intensified, WashTech's membership has grown. Nonetheless, there are reasons that only 2 to 5.5 percent of high-tech workers are unionized—reasons that have little to do with concrete economic factors.

"Many people in these industries say, 'I hate unions' just on principle," Courtney tells me as we walk out of Starbucks. "But these same people will then go to the Mini-Microsoft website and voice their complaints because they know the company is reading the site." This constituency is a key component of today's white-collar uprising. They are swing voters, but they aren't the socially liberal, economically conservative suburbanites pundits always say are the key swing demographic in presidential elections. They are folks whose libertarianism has led them to vote Republican and dislike unions but whose economic self-interest is now pulling them in a populist direction.

According to a national poll commissioned by WashTech in late 2003, 73 percent of IT workers describe themselves as either Independents (32 percent) or Republicans (41 percent)—a demographic that is typically hostile to the ideology of the labor movement and the concept of collective action. However, an overwhelming majority of this same group told pollsters they support strongly progressive legislation to expand unemployment benefits and to prohibit government contracts from going to companies that outsource jobs. And despite decades of antiunion propaganda from industry and its allied consultants, think tanks and politicians, a majority of Americans still tell pollsters that, if given the chance, they would vote to join a union.

This sentiment persists even in the white-collar world. Groups like WashTech, however, haven't been able to expand persistent positive feelings about unions into a more mature movement because they face the Fantastic Four: a quartet of pernicious and dishonest story lines that play to tech workers' unique self-image and that discourage full participation in the uprising.

The first and most powerful of these myths is the Marlboro Man Fable. Doug, a Microsoft employee and WashTech at-large member, who asks me to use a pseudonym to protect him from blacklisting, tells me that while tech workers certainly have complaints about wages and benefits, they do not see unions as being congruent with their deeply held beliefs in "rugged individualism"—the Marlboro Man spirit that says everyone is a lone cowboy who can tough it out on his or her own. "One of the successful things the high-tech industry has done is to have sold people on the idea that if you just struggle all by yourself, you can be Bill Gates, too," he says over lunch at Microsoft's cafeteria in Redmond. "That's kind of what we sell in our whole country as the self-made man. There's no such thing, really, but that's what lots of folks believe."

The gulf between the Marlboro Man Fable and reality is one of the most combustible ingredients in today's uprising. People's economic experiences—stagnant wages, rising healthcare costs, decreasing retirement benefits—indict the fable in a far deeper way than even the best uprising leader could. However, as Doug says, the awakening has been slow in a white-collar world that matured during the go-go 1990s. The Marlboro Man Fable poses the toughest challenge to WashTech because it drills directly into white-collar workers' psychology—specifically, their belief "that interests of employers and employees are the same," as sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset found in his groundbreaking research on the subject.

Antiunionism is being sustained not solely by the Marlboro Man Fable but also by the Legend of Job Security—the second of the Fantastic Four. Shrewd corporate PR and workers' career ambitions predispose white-collar employees to view the boss

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and the company as inherently benevolent. Many workers believe they don't need a union because they think such benevolence will protect them from the outsourcing buzz saw. WashTech's 2005 poll showed that about half of all tech workers do not believe outsourcing will affect their jobs—even though simultaneous polls of high-tech executives show that most are planning to radically accelerate outsourcing.

Whereas surmounting the Marlboro Man Fable requires changing deep psychologies and self-images, breaking through the Legend of Job Security is a much easier task, thanks to harsh realities. Princeton economist Alan Blinder reports that up to 42 million jobs could be outsourced in the coming years, especially impersonal services like software programming. Many high-tech workers are starting to get a handle on this. "A lot of full-timers who have been at Microsoft a long time are finally believing that sometime in the next few years, five years maximum, some whole division is going to show up one Monday morning and their card keys aren't going to work," one WashTech activist tells me. "Their work will have been sent to India." WashTech has deftly played its role as information conduit to expose outsourcing practices in provocative ways. For example, the group has leaked internal Microsoft documents revealing that company managers are encouraging those under them to hire foreign workers.

The frustrations of another WashTech member, a permatemp named Rennie, illustrate the third great myth of the Fantastic Four. Like most veteran permatemps, Rennie has been trying to switch to full-time work. "I've interviewed for jobs, and they always say they are going to hire me, but before they get an offer on the table, the job gets outsourced or an H-1B gets brought in," he says in disgust. H-1B is a bland, IRS-tax-form kind of term, but it is at the heart of the Great Labor Shortage Lie.

For the better part of two decades, tech companies have complained about a dearth of high-skilled US computer programmers and engineers. This narrative is dutifully echoed by the media. A 2007 *BusinessWeek* headline is typical: Where Are All the Workers? the magazine asked, stating that "companies worldwide are suddenly scrambling to manage a labor crunch."

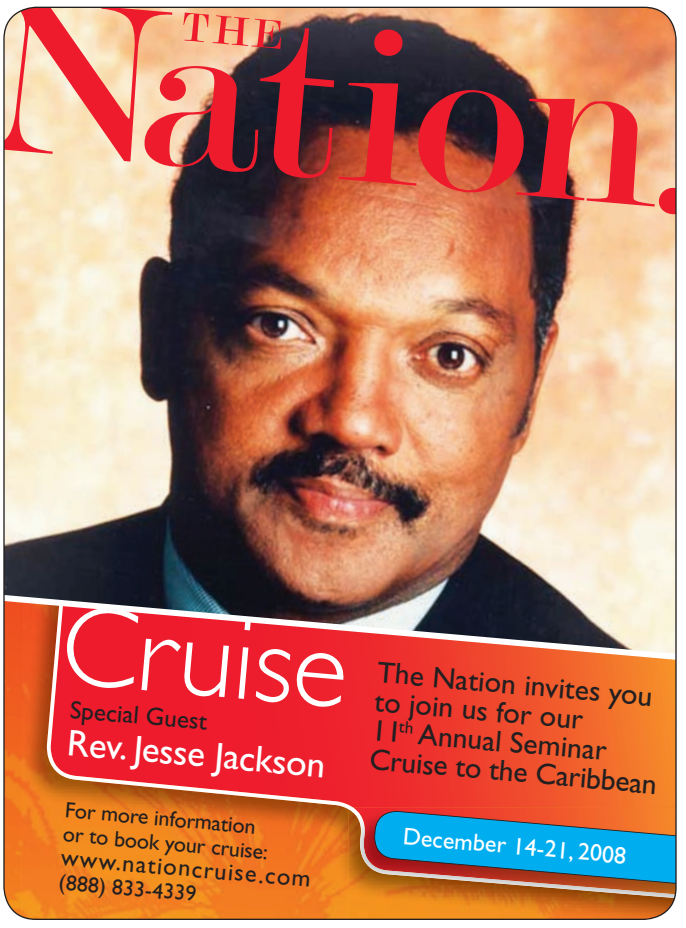
There's just one snag: there is no labor shortage. In 2007 a comprehensive Duke University study found "no indication of a shortage of engineers in the United States." As *BusinessWeek* admits in that same story about a supposed "global labor crunch," many "so-called shortages could quickly be solved if employers were to offer more money." But that's not happening. In fact, the magazine grudgingly acknowledged, "the strongest evidence that there's no general shortage today is that overall worker pay has barely outpaced inflation." So why is the lie still being spread? To drive down wages. To "fix" the alleged shortage, Congress in 1990 created the H-1B program, which allows employers like Microsoft to bring in temporary foreign workers for high-skill jobs. "They say they need H-1Bs because they can't find a qualified American, but what they really mean is they can't find a *cheap* American," Rennie tells me during a coffee break at his Microsoft office. His assertion is supported by the data. In 2005 the Center for Immigration Studies released a report on government statistics showing that H-1B employees are paid an average of $13,000 a year less than American workers in the same job in the same state.

Today Microsoft ranks third in the country among companies hiring H-1Bs, so Rennie works with H-1B workers all the time. His anger is not the quasinationalism of Lou Dobbs or the xenophobia of the Minutemen. The rage is not directed at H-1B workers but at people he feels are abusing the program—and chief among them, he says, is Bill Gates.

In early 2007, the richest man in America brought his boyish happy talk to the nation's capital, testifying before the Senate in an attempt to persuade lawmakers to eliminate the government's annual cap on the number of H-1B visas. Almost all the WashTech members I met brought up Gates's testimony, making sure I understood what an atrocity they think it was. Here they are, working as permatemps, and the founder of their company spits out the Great Labor Shortage Lie by telling Congress he can't find qualified full-time workers.

The union published a full-page ad in *Roll Call* to pressure Congress to oppose Gates's H-1B request. The ad was not partisan, which is smart for two reasons. First, rank-and-file tech workers have mixed partisan loyalties, and they are more likely to donate to something bipartisan. Second, the Washington problem on these issues is truly bipartisan. Republicans may be the party of Wall Street, but Democrats—thanks to oodles of tech-industry campaign contributions—have become the party of Silicon Valley. "The people in the Senate were all praising Gates, telling him, Oh, you're such a great guy," Rennie says, his hand balled up into a fist, tapping his knee. "I just couldn't believe some of the stuff that was being said."

In particular, Rennie cites the last of the Fantastic Four—the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Great Education Myth. Parroted by just about everybody in business, politics and media, this fairy tale tells us that if everyone just gets a college degree, our problems with outsourcing, stagnant wages and pension cuts will magically vanish. In the white-collar world, this myth says all you have to do is go back to school and you'll be fine. But Census figures show that between 2000 and 2004, earnings of college grads dropped by more than 5 percent. The *Financial Times* reports that "earnings of average US workers with an undergraduate degree have not kept up with gains in productivity in recent decades," primarily because "a change in labor market institutions and norms [has] reduced the bargaining power of most US workers" (translation: the loss of unions has meant less worker leverage). Even *Fortune* concedes that "just maybe the jobs most threatened by outsourcing are no longer those of factory workers with a high school education…but those of college-educated desk workers [who] look more outsourceable by the day."

The potentially insurmountable obstacle for WashTech, though, is something it cannot fully control. It can gradually break down the Fantastic Four and update the labor movement's image for its union-averse constituency. But without the intangible of inspiration, it will be having a "fight with a windmill," as Saul Alinsky would say. Those who join the uprising do so because they are tired of a political and economic system that ignores them. But for those folks, like white-collar workers, who may be less political by nature, that feeling of disenfranchisement can serve as a suppressant. Their apolitical, nonconfrontational disposition means that they, more than most others, need an inspiration that proves the value of joining the uprising. And without that inspiration, whatever sympathies they may have are easily quashed by a sense of helplessness.

Rennie sums it up in distinctly Microsoft terms. "It's hard to change things when people turn on the television and see someone like Gates with all the Congressmen fawning all over him." They need to see something else. With the rise of populism in the 2008 election campaign, perhaps they soon will. ■

Thin ICE

In its zeal, the federal immigration agency has been deporting US citizens.

by JACQUELINE STEVENS

A headline in the *San Francisco Chronicle* screams, 900 Nabbed in State on Immigration Charges. The *Seattle Times* reports, Feds Combing Jails for Illegal Immigrants. An AP article declares, Immigration Raid in Iowa Largest Ever in US and reports 390 arrests. In May alone, more than 276,912 US residents were deported. Thanks to a recent Bush Administration crackdown, the net cast by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency (ICE) is wide—so wide, it turns out, that some of those being deported are US citizens.

Is ICE an efficient law enforcement agency? Or, in the words of Robert, 38, a US citizen twice deported to Mexico, is ICE "just throwing us out for nothing"?

Consider what happened to Peter Guzman. Last year Guzman, a US citizen born in Los Angeles in 1977, drove onto the tarmac of a regional airport in his hometown of Lancaster, about eighty miles northeast of Los Angeles, boarded a charter plane without a ticket and refused to get off. Guzman was arrested and sentenced, and served forty-one days in a Los Angeles County jail. According to his lawyer, Mark Rosenbaum of the Southern California ACLU, Guzman was excited about being released in time for his brother's July wedding in Las Vegas. "It was a big deal to Peter. He was going to be the best man." It never occurred to Guzman that in July he'd be eating garbage and bathing in the Tijuana River.

AP PHOTO/ACLU/SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Peter Guzman, a mentally ill US citizen who was deported twice, returned home last August.

But on May 11, 2007, he called his family and said he'd been deported. According to the ACLU lawsuit, before his sister-in-law could find out exactly where he was and give him instructions, the line was cut. She overheard him ask, "Where am I?"

In early August 2007, after Guzman had spent three months trying to return, his appeal to a border agent in Calexico was finally successful: Guzman was arrested for missing his first probation hearing and brought back to Los Angeles. ICE says it has Guzman's signature on a voluntary departure agreement. Guzman's attorneys say the signature was coerced and that it is never legal to deport a US citizen.

Gary Mead, ICE assistant director for detention and removal, testified at a Congressional hearing in February that

Jacqueline Stevens is an associate professor in the Law and Society Program at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

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Guzman's case is unique. But California Democratic Congresswoman Zoe Lofgren calls Guzman the "poster child" for an epidemic of detaining and deporting US citizens by ICE. Kara Hartzler, an attorney at the Florence Immigrant and Refugee Rights Project (FIRRP), agrees with Lofgren. Last year Hartzler's staff of six attorneys provided presentations and occasionally individual advice to more than 8,000 detainees in southern Arizona. About 10 percent of people ICE detains nationwide are sent to Florence and nearby Eloy, about sixty miles south of Phoenix. Hartzler testified, "The deportation of US citizens is not happening monthly, or weekly, but every day."

ICE does not keep records on cases in which detainees claim to be US citizens. If larger trends are consistent with the pattern in Hartzler's caseload, since 2004 ICE has held between 3,500 and 10,000 US citizens in detention facilities and deported about half. US citizens are a small percentage of ICE detentions for this period, which totaled around 1 million, but in absolute terms the figure is staggering.

Phone interviews suggest the higher end may be more accurate. I called fifteen private immigration attorneys whose names appear on a Justice Department list of pro bono attorneys in Los Angeles and left messages asking whether they had clients in the past three years who were US citizens held in ICE detention for at least one month. Seven of them called back, each describing one to four clients who meet these criteria. Using these accounts, and those from attorneys at three nonprofit immigration clinics, I documented thirty-one cases from across the country of US citizens, eight born here, incarcerated as aliens for one month to five years. Fourteen were deported. Five remain in detention.

Proving citizenship can be tough, especially when the people who might help you can't find you.

Between 2001 and 2007 Robert, who requested that his last name be withheld, was incarcerated for five years and deported to Tijuana twice because ICE refused to believe he was a US citizen. Robert described meeting seventeen other US citizens in ICE detention. Robert was born in Mexico in 1970 and orphaned at age 4. When he was 8 his uncle from Baldwin Park, California, adopted him. In 1983 he became a legal permanent resident, automatically acquiring US citizenship.

In 2000 Robert was arrested for a DWI and evading arrest. After serving sixteen months, he was transferred to El Centro Detention Facility, about 100 miles east of San Diego, where ICE set about deporting him as a criminal alien.

Robert told the court and his attorney, to whom he paid $5,000, that he was a US citizen, but his lawyer did not submit the necessary documents, and Robert lost the case. Robert believed an appeal was hopeless. The year he'd spent in detention was enough: "I decided to leave and come back [to the United States] the next day."

In February 2002 Robert disembarked from the ICE van in Tijuana with an order forever banishing him from the United States. The next day his sister-in-law picked him up and they drove into the United States together, telling the border agent they were US citizens, which they are. They drove to their homes in a Los Angeles suburb.

In 2003 Robert, fearful of being turned over to ICE, sped away from a police car signaling him to pull over. He was sent to a deportation center in Chino and had a video hearing: "You face the TV and some little judge is inside TV talking to you." He explained that he was a US citizen. The little judge ruled otherwise and told Robert an appeal would take nine months. Robert decided to repeat the 2002 routine. ICE again dropped him off in Tijuana.

Robert told the US patrol agent apprehending him during the middle of the night in the hills of El Centro, "I am a US citizen." The agent charged Robert with falsely impersonating a US citizen and other felonies associated with an illegal border crossing. The public defender told Robert to plead guilty to the impersonation charge, or he'd face additional time for entering the United States as an illegal immigrant. "I said, 'No, I can't. There's no way. I'm trying to tell you, my dad is a US citizen. I am a US citizen.' I told the judge that the things they're charging me with are not true, but I have no choice and if that's what it will take for me to go faster to my family, I will plead to that." Robert served three years for falsely impersonating a US citizen.

In 2006 Robert was released into ICE custody at Terminal Island in San Pedro. At this hearing the immigration judge considered the information Robert had assembled in the prison library and realized he was probably a US citizen. Robert was released on bond to find the relevant documents and a lawyer. A few months later Robert and his new attorney, Veronica Villegas, went to the Los Angeles United States Citizenship and Immigration Services office. Villegas told me, "The agent looked at his papers and said, 'Congratulations! You've been a US citizen since 1983.'"

ICE has no jurisdiction over US citizens. If someone claims birth in the United States, as Guzman did, then ICE agents must have a "reasonable suspicion" for disbelief before detaining him. Racial profiling doesn't count. "Not speaking English, not being white and appearing to be from a Central American country is not enough," says Rebecca Musarra, of the Human Rights Impact Litigation Clinic of Washington College of Law. In practice, ICE detains thousands of people who were born in the United States and forces them to prove citizenship. According to Mario Quiroz at Casa de Maryland, which assists low-income Latinos, "People who have Spanish names, are five-four, have black hair, get profiled. At the end of the day, [ICE] only says, 'Oops, we made a mistake.' But somebody's life was messed up."

Proving citizenship can be tough, especially when the people who might help can't find you. An immigration judge, who requested anonymity, told me it was "notoriously common for people to be whisked away and nobody knows where they are. When you just want to get rid of someone, you don't want their family to know where they are. It's something that would happen in a Third World country. It's not something that should happen [here]."

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Pastor Aquiles Rojas agrees. On October 11, 2007, he went to pick up his brother-in-law from a two-month sentence at the Honor Farm jail in Modesto, California. René Saldivar, 38, wasn't there. "They told me that immigration had taken him, and they didn't know where he was," says Rojas. He called everywhere: San Francisco, Sacramento, Arizona. "They told me they had no record of my brother-in-law. We thought maybe he was in Mexico, but we couldn't figure out why he didn't call. Certainly he was in trouble. We just wanted to find out where he's at." Saldivar's family was especially concerned because of Saldivar's impaired psychological condition.

After the family's five-month vigil, Saldivar called. He was in the Eloy Detention Center in Arizona. Saldivar told me, "I didn't have no money and no way of talking to nobody." The center allows collect calls but cellphone plans will not accept them. Eventually a stranger lent Saldivar a calling card. In February Saldivar explained his ancestry to an immigration judge, who concluded that Saldivar most likely was a foreign-born citizen—like John McCain and George Romney—and sent the case to FIRRP.

Hartzler told me she thought she could get Saldivar released at his hearing on April 9, but she had to track down the Social Security employment records of her client's deceased father to prove his citizenship. She wrote, "I don't think it's appropriate for government proceedings with consequences as severe as lifetime deportation to rely on nonprofit organizations for their safeguards. For every René, there's dozens of people with valid claims to US citizenship who are deported."

Detainees with psychological disabilities find it especially hard to navigate their release, but according to a FIRRP social worker, Erin Maxwell, "Even people who are not diagnosably mentally ill or developmentally challenged still don't really get [why they're in deportation proceedings], and it can be very scary." One client of hers was arrested for possessing drug paraphernalia and then detained at Eloy for four months. "He didn't bring up his citizenship with the judge," Maxwell said. "Then I met with him and he said, 'I don't know why this is happening. Both my parents are US citizens.'"

According to Nancy Morawetz, a New York University Law School professor supervising the Immigrant Rights Clinic, "a lot of people don't know they're citizens." The rules for foreign-born citizenship are complicated. Different laws apply to different years of birth. Since the state does not guarantee legal representation in civil cases, 90 to 95 percent of detainees lack attorneys. Even the immigration lawyers seem not to understand the laws, the immigration judge told me. So it's not surprising that Saldivar's eleven siblings are just learning that they, too, are US citizens.

For the millions of US citizens who are foreign-born, court precedents shift the burden of proving citizenship onto them. But the Fourteenth Amendment states that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" should be treated equally. Therefore, the Human Rights Impact Litigation Clinic is planning to challenge the constitutionality of the burden of proof placed on US citizens born abroad.

Finally, it was April 9, and Saldivar had his hearing, where his documentation was deemed insufficient. The Social Security Administration's annual employment records in Arizona went back only to 1959. ICE wanted the additional two years to verify Isidoro Saldivar's US residence the entire ten years before René's birth in 1967. Hartzler was hoping the Washington office had the fifty-one-year-old employment records. René would begin his eighth month in detention.

Giving Saldivar his liberty while ICE figured out the paperwork would have made sense because of his family's roots in Stanislaus County, going back to 1940. In addition, NYU's Morawetz says that doing otherwise may be unlawful: "I believe they don't have the power to put a detainer on someone and figure it out later. It's an abuse of the detention power. They only have jurisdiction over people who are noncitizens."

When ICE detains and deports US citizens, it is not only illogical; it also can be false imprisonment, a felony. When I asked Rosenbaum, Guzman's ACLU attorney, why the government wasn't prosecuting ICE agents for civil rights and criminal violations, he laughed and said, "Good luck!" Rosenbaum said the ACLU's complaint was alleging false imprisonment, but US Attorneys were defending the government in the lawsuit. No US Attorneys have stepped forward to prosecute ICE agents. Meanwhile, immigration judges, many of whom are patronage appointments from the Bush Administration or former ICE agents, entertain the flimsiest of arguments on behalf of deportation.

The case of Anna (not her real name), arrested in Phoenix on October 8, 2007, for prostitution, is particularly tragic. When the police asked for her place of birth she answered, "Paris." When applying under another name for a US passport, in 1991, Anna wrote that she was from Tehran. According to Hartzler, Anna also claims JFK is her father and the Pope is her father. Anna is from France the way that Borat is from Kazakhstan. In February 2007 an Arizona Superior Court dismissed drug charges against Anna, finding her "unable to understand the nature of the proceedings" as well as "criminally incompetent and a danger to herself and others." Anna has been diagnosed as paranoid schizophrenic.

On October 9, based only on her claim to have been born in Paris, Anna was taken to the Eloy Detention Center, where an ICE agent took full note of her US passport application and "8 different aliases, and 2 SSNs." On February 20 immigration judge Thomas Michael O'Leary, who had Anna's records, including the diagnoses of the court psychiatrists, issued an order to remove Anna from the country. The French consulate refused to issue travel documents for her, telling ICE that Anna is not a French citizen. Having been possibly stripped of her citizenship rights in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Americans With Disabilities Act, Anna will be held in detention for at least three months. If released, she is not functional enough to attend the meetings ICE requires of aliens remaining in the country with deportation orders. A warrant for her arrest will be issued, and in her next encounter with law enforcement the warrant will trigger an arrest. Kristine Brisson, the ICE agent initiating Anna's removal, did not return messages requesting comment. Judge O'Leary has been promoted to run the Tucson Immigration Court.

Anna's case may seem unusual, but US citizens with mental disabilities reflect the criminal inmate population ICE targets.

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According to a 2006 Justice Department press release, about 40 percent of the incarcerated population has "symptoms of mania." Twenty-four percent of the jail population and 15 percent of state prisoners have a "psychotic disorder, such as delusions or hallucinations." Rachel Rosenbloom of the Center for Human Rights and International Justice in Boston testified to Congress, "It is not uncommon for someone who is mentally ill and suffering from delusions to state that he or she was born abroad." By using the incarcerated population as its hunting grounds, ICE is inevitably going to snare mentally ill US citizens. The immigration judge observed, "If you don't have your marbles, or someone on the outside, there's no safety net."

Carlos Barrios, a Los Angeles private attorney who has represented US citizens in detention, notes, "It is strange. How can they keep a person detained in an immigration facility if they're a citizen?"

In response to different versions of this question from members of Congress in February, ICE's Mead pretended that the events brought before him did not exist. He repeated the law stating that ICE has no jurisdiction over US citizens, and then affected ignorance of ICE agents detaining US citizens. Mead was in the same room as US citizens testifying to ICE abuse. At one point Illinois Democrat Luis Gutierrez exploded in frustration over Mead's failure to have any comment on a racial-profiling incident in Chicago during which ICE detained more than 100 Latino men: "Thank you very much for not knowing any of the information about a very well-publicized case on which Secretary Chertoff has been well informed!"

The official line, as ICE public affairs officer Brandon Alvarez-Montgomery explained it to me, is that ICE does not "knowingly detain US citizens." This is false. Hartzler showed an ICE attorney the Minnesota birth certificate of Thomas Warziniack, and yet ICE held him for two weeks until his hearing. Morawetz described a citizen in detention whose attorney faxed a New York birth certificate "and detention says, 'How do we know this is that person's record?'" even though the law requires ICE to prove otherwise.

While Saldivar remained in detention, I sent Alvarez-Montgomery the details of his case, explaining that Social Security employment records for Saldivar's father did not exist before 1959. He responded, "Anyone who[se] first year of earnings were recorded between 1937 to the present will appear on the Social Security statement. For this case, it's safe to assume that 1959 was the first year of recorded earnings for his father."

Alvarez-Montgomery was wrong. Later, using ancestry.com, I found a Railroad Retirement Board (RRB) record for Isidoro Saldivar from before 1951. I sent it to Alvarez-Montgomery and other ICE officials. They did not reply or release René. I sent it to Hartzler, who contacted the RRB, which provided records of "compensation received by René's father each year from 1947 to 1958, as well as a copy of his application for a Social Security card in 1947." Hartzler gave these to ICE, which held René for six more days, releasing him on April 28.

Shortly after that I asked Saldivar, who was drywalling his sister's home in Chowchilla, how he understood what happened. "Someone took me to prison, even though I had my papers. It's bad. It's not fair," he told me. ICE alleged that René lacked legal permission to reside in the United States. Even if ICE is correct, the charge of undocumented residence is a minor civil infraction that requires release to be disputed and is not a crime. ICE's false imprisonment of US citizens and other legal residents, however, is a serious crime. ■

Letters

(continued from page 2)

making us aware that all is not well in the equal rights department. Washington University should be ashamed of itself.

Janet E. White

Cambridge, Mass.

Phyllis Schlafly gave the Radcliffe Institute's Dean's Lecture last fall (a huge honor). Some of us organized a silent walkout. It was in a smallish lecture hall, which was by no means full. About a dozen of us wore white blouses, scattered ourselves throughout the space and left without a word or gesture the first time Schlafly said something objectionable. It turned out to be about how horrible it is when homosexuality is mentioned in sex education classes. No one has managed to elicit an explanation for Schlafly's invitation.

Paula J. Caplan

Aurora, Ill.

I am as rattled by the honorary doctorate for Phyllis Schlafly as Katha Pollitt. However, Pollitt's criticism of the media "urging women to focus on their babies" and the suggestion that this signifies a lack of drive and brains seems inconsistent with feminism. Our ingrained contempt for women who focus on children first has its roots in the gender disparity of past generations. I am especially concerned that rigid conservatives long ago incited a rebellion that still calls for motherhood to be viewed as part of the "submission to male dominance" package, to be rejected along with high heels, pointed bras and dishpan hands.

Motherhood is *not* a male-inspired role established to keep the harem in order. Certainly no woman should feel compelled by societal expectations to enter motherhood. But if she chooses it, she should not feel oppressed by the experience. Her social network should provide her with the tangible and moral support to carry out her pursuit and to re-enter a vocation at a later time, or not, without a loss of dignity. As it is, an American woman must usually choose between her full investment in a profession or in motherhood; either choice will inevitably leave her wallowing in self-doubt for having sacrificed the other.

Juliette Bossert

More on That Cartoon

Albuquerque

I didn't think Rick Meyerowitz's cartoon was just about Alzheimer's ["Letters," May 26]. Unfortunately for Reagan and Heston, and for society at large, these guys seemed to have lost their marbles well before they showed any sign of Alzheimer's.

Richard Barendsen

Correction

In Christopher Hayes's "Mr. Lessig Goes to Washington" last week, "million" was rendered as "billion" in the sentence, "… industry has contributed $14 million to Congressional candidates in this session."

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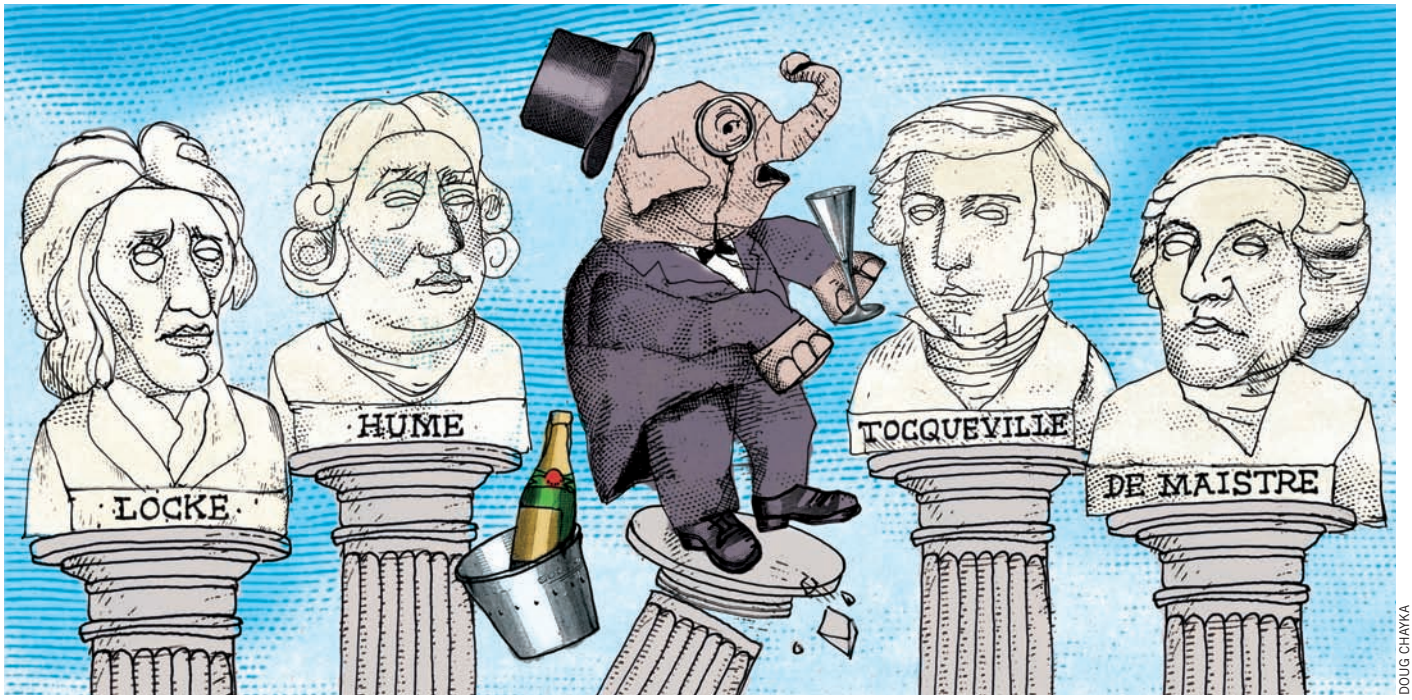
Books & the Arts.



DOUG CHAYKA

Out of Place

by COREY ROBIN

"The 1960s are rightly remembered as years of cultural dissent and political upheaval, but they are wrongly remembered as years stirred only from the left," writes George Will in the foreword to a recently reissued edition of Barry Goldwater's *The Conscience of a Conservative*. Several decades ago, Will's claim would have elicited catcalls and jeers. But in the years since, the publication of a slew of books, each advancing the notion that most of the political innovation of the last half-century, including the 1960s, has come from the right, has led historians to revise the conventional wisdom about postwar America. The new consensus is reflected in the opening sentence of Ronald Story and Bruce Laurie's *The Rise of Conservatism in America, 1945–2000*: "The central story of American politics since World War II is the emergence of the conservative movement." Yet for some reason Will still feels that the travails of his political kinsmen are insufficiently appreciated and recognized.

Will is not the first conservative to believe himself an exile in his own country. A sense of exclusion has haunted conservatism from the beginning, when émigrés fled the French Revolution and Edmund Burke and Joseph de Maistre took up their cause. Born in the shadow of loss—of property, standing, memory, inheritance, a place in the sun—conservatism remains a gathering of fugitives. From Burke's lament that "the gallery is in the place of the house" to William F. Buckley Jr.'s claim that he and his brethren were "out of place," the comfortable and connected have fashioned a philosophy of self-styled truancy. One might say this fusion of pariah and power has been the key to their success. As Buckley went on to write, the conservative's badge of exclusion has made him "just about the hottest thing in town."

While John Locke, Alexis de Tocqueville and David Hume are sometimes cited by the more genteel defenders of conservatism as the movement's leading lights, their writings cannot account for what is truly bizarre about conservatism: a ruling class resting its claim to power upon its sense of victimhood, arguably for the first time in history. Plato's guardians were wise; Aquinas's king was good; Hobbes's sovereign was, well, sovereign. But the best defense of monarchy that Maistre could muster in *Considerations on France* (1797) was that his aspiring king had attended the "terrible school of misfortune" and suffered in the "hard school of adversity."

Conservatives have asked us not to obey them but to feel sorry for them—or to obey them because we feel sorry for them. Rousseau was the first to articulate a political theory of pity, and for that he has been

The Conscience of a Conservative
By Barry Goldwater.
Princeton. 144 pp. $14.95.

Rightward Bound
Making America Conservative in the 1970s.
Edited by Bruce J. Schulman and Julian E. Zelizer.
Harvard. 373 pp. Paper $19.95.

They Knew They Were Right
The Rise of the Neocons.
By Jacob Heilbrunn.
Random House. 320 pp. $26.

Corey Robin teaches political science at Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He is the author of Fear: The History of a Political Idea *and is writing a book about conservatism and counterrevolution.*

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called the philosopher of the losers. But doesn't Burke, with his overwrought account of Marie Antoinette in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790)—"this persecuted woman," dragged "almost naked" by "the furies of hell" from her bedroom in Versailles and marched to "a Bastile for kings" in Paris—have some claim to the title, too?

Marie Antoinette was a particular kind of loser, a person with everything who finds herself utterly and at once dispossessed. Burke saw in her fall an archetype of classical tragedy, the great person laid low by fortune. But in tragedy, the most any hero can achieve is an understanding of his fate: the wheel of time cannot be reversed; suffering cannot be undone. Conservatives, however, are not content with illumination or wisdom. They want restoration, an opportunity presented by the new forces of revolution and counterrevolution. Identifying as victims, they become the ultimate moderns, adept competitors in a political marketplace where rights and their divestiture are prized commodities.

Conservatives can play victim and victor with a dexterity that the subaltern can only imagine.

Reformers and radicals must convince the subordinated and disenfranchised that they have rights and power. Conservatives are different. They are aggrieved and entitled—aggrieved because entitled—and already convinced of the righteousness of their cause and the inevitability of its triumph. They can play victim and victor with a conviction and dexterity the subaltern can only imagine, making them formidable claimants on our allegiance and affection. Whether we are rich or poor or somewhere in between, the conservative is, as Hugo Young said of Maggie Thatcher, one of us.

But how do they convince us that we are one of them? By making privilege democratic and democracy aristocratic. Every man, John Adams claimed, longs "to be observed, considered, esteemed, praised, beloved, and admired." To be praised, one must be seen, and the best way to be seen is to elevate oneself above one's circle. Even the American democrat, Adams reasoned, would rather rule over an inferior than dispossess a superior. His passion is for supremacy, not equality, and so long as he is assured an audience of lessers, he will be content with his lowly status:

> Not only the poorest mechanic, but the man who lives upon common charity, nay the common beggars in the streets…court a set of admirers, and plume themselves on that superiority which they have, or fancy they have, over some others…. When a wretch could no longer attract the notice of a man, woman or child, he must be respectable in the eyes of his dog. "Who will love me then?" was the pathetic reply of one, who starved himself to feed his mastiff, to a charitable passenger who advised him to kill or sell the animal.

It took the American slaveholder to grasp the power of this insight. The best way to protect their class, the masters realized, was to democratize it. Make every man, or at least every white man, a master, and so invested would he be in his mastery that he'd work to keep all others in their place. The genius of the slaveholding class was that it was "not an exclusive aristocracy," wrote Daniel Hundley in *Social Relations in Our Southern States* (1860). "Every free white man in the whole Union has just as much right to become an Oligarch." To that end, Southern politicians attempted to pass legislation and provide tax breaks to ensure that every white man owned at least one slave.

A century before Huey Long cried "Every man a king," a more ambiguous species of democrat spoke virtually the same words, to different effect. The promise of American life was to rule over another person. By and large, American conservatives have not defended an *ancien régime* of king, priest and lord. Nor have they appealed to antimodern arguments of tradition and history. Instead, they have surrounded an array of old regimes—in the family, the factory and the field—with fences and gates as they descant on mobility and innovation, freedom and the future.

Making privilege palatable to the democratic masses is a permanent project for conservatives, but each generation must tailor it to the contours of its times. In 1960, Goldwater's challenge was set out in his book's title: to show that conservatives had a conscience. Not a heart—he lambasted Eisenhower and Nixon for trying to prove that they were compassionate—or a brain, which liberals from John Stuart Mill to Lionel Trilling had doubted. Political movements often have to show that they can win, that their cause is just and their leaders are savvy, but rarely must they prove that theirs is a march of inner lights. Goldwater thought otherwise: to attract new voters and rally the faithful, conservatism had to establish its idealism and integrity, its absolute independence from the beck and call of wealth, from privilege and materialism—reality itself. If they were to change reality, conservatives would have to divorce themselves, at least in their self-understanding, from reality.

In recent years, it has become fashionable to dismiss George W. Bush as a true believer who betrayed conservatism by abandoning its native skepticism and spirit of mild adjustment. Goldwater was independent and ornery, the argument goes, recoiling from anything so stultifying (and Soviet) as an ideology; Bush is rigid and doctrinaire, an enforcer of bright lines and gospel truths. Elements of this argument are found on the right (Andrew Sullivan, George Will and even John McCain) and on the left (Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Sidney Blumenthal and John Dean).

But this argument ignores the fact that conservatism has always been a creedal movement—if for no other reason than to oppose the creeds of the left. "The other side have got an ideology," declared Thatcher. "We must have one as well." To counter the left, the main reason for its existence, the right has had to mimic the left. Goldwater understood that, which is why it is strange to hear so many liberals today looking to him and his followers—everyone from Birchers to Focus on the Family—as a model for grassroots change. By focusing so intently on Goldwater, liberals overlook the fact that historically it has been the left that has tutored the right.

Reactionary theologians in eighteenth-century France mobilized against the left by aping its tactics. They funded essay contests, like those in which Rousseau made his name, to reward writers who wrote popular defenses of religion. They ceased producing abstruse disquisitions for one another and instead churned out Catholic agitprop, which they distributed through the very networks that brought enlightenment to the French people. Similarly, the slaveholders of nineteenth-century America looked to and admired the fastidiousness and industry of the abolitionists. "As small as they are," John C. Calhoun declared, they "have acquired so much influence by the course they have pursued."

Goldwater learned from the New Deal. During the Gilded Age, conservatives had opposed unions and government regulation

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by invoking workers' freedom to contract with their employer. Liberals countered that this freedom was illusory: workers lacked the means to contract as they wished; real freedom required material means. Goldwater agreed, only he turned that argument against the New Deal: high taxes robbed workers of their wages, rendering them less free and less able to be free. Channeling John Dewey, he asked, "How can a man be truly free if he is denied the means to exercise freedom?"

FDR claimed that conservatives cared more about money than men. Goldwater said the same about liberals. Focusing on welfare and wages, he charged, they "look only at the material side of man's nature" and "subordinate all other considerations to man's material well being." Conservatives took in "the whole man," making his "spiritual nature" the "primary concern" of politics and putting "material things in their proper place."

This romantic howl against the economism of the New Deal—similar to that of the New Left—was not a protest against politics or government; Goldwater was no libertarian. It was an attempt to elevate politics and government, to direct public discussion toward ends more noble and glorious than the management of creature comforts and material well-being. Unlike the New Left, however, Goldwater did not reject the affluent society. Instead, he transformed the acquisition of wealth into an act of self-definition through which the "uncommon" man—who could be anybody—distinguished himself from the "undifferentiated mass." To amass wealth was not only to exercise freedom through material means but also a way of lording oneself over others.

In "Conservative Thought," an unjustly neglected essay from 1927, Karl Mannheim argued that conservatives have never been wild about the idea of freedom. It threatens the submission of subordinate to superior. Because freedom is the lingua franca of modern politics, however, they have had "a sound enough instinct not to attack" it. Instead, they have made freedom the stalking horse of inequality, and inequality the stalking horse of submission. Men are naturally unequal, they argue. Freedom requires that they be allowed to develop their unequal gifts. A free society must be an unequal society, composed of radically distinct, and hierarchical, particulars.

Goldwater never rejected freedom; indeed, he celebrated it. But there is little doubt that he saw it as a proxy for inequality—or war, which he called "the price of freedom." A free society protected each man's "absolute differentness from every other human being," with difference standing in for superiority or inferiority. It was the "initiative and ambition of uncommon men"—the most different and excellent of men—that made a nation great. A free society would identify such men at the earliest stages of life and give them the resources they needed to rise to pre-eminence. Against politicians who subscribed to "the egalitarian notion that every child must have the same education," Goldwater argued for "an educational system which will tax the talents and stir the ambitions of our best students and…thus insure us the kind of leaders we will need in the future."

For Goldwater, freedom was a proxy for inequality—or war, which was 'the price of freedom.'

Mannheim also argued that conservatives often champion the group—races or nations—rather than the individual. Races and nations have unique identities, which must, in the name of freedom, be preserved. They are the modern equivalents of feudal estates. They have distinctive, and unequal, characters and functions; they enjoy different, and unequal, privileges. Freedom is the protection of those privileges, which are the outward expression of the group's unique inner genius.

Goldwater rejected racism (though not nationalism), but try as he might, when discussing freedom he could not resist the tug of feudalism. He called states' rights "the cornerstone" of liberty, "our chief bulwark against the encroachment of individual freedom" by the federal government. In theory, states protected individuals rather than groups. But who in 1960 were these individuals?

Goldwater claimed that they were anyone and everyone, that states' rights had nothing to do with Jim Crow. Yet even he was forced to admit that the South's position on segregation "is, today, the most conspicuous expression of the principle" of states' rights. The rhetoric of states' rights threw up a cordon around white privilege. While surely the most noxious plank in the conservative platform—eventually, it was abandoned—Goldwater's argument for states' rights fit squarely within a tradition that sees freedom as a shield for inequality and a surrogate for mass feudalism.

Goldwater lost big in the 1964 presidential election. His children and grandchildren have won big—by broadening the circle of discontent in the realm of domestic politics to include husbands and wives, evangelicals and white ethnics, and by continuing to absorb and transmute the idioms of the left. As Bruce Schulman and Julian Zelizer argue in their introduction to *Rightward Bound*—an uncommonly coherent collection of innovative essays, many by scholars in the early stages of their careers—liberals in the twentieth century permanently "refashioned" America, forcing conservatives to operate "against a backdrop where the achievements of liberalism still mattered." Adapting to the left didn't make American conservatism less reactionary—any more than Maistre's recognition that the French Revolution had permanently changed Europe tempered conservatism there. Rather, it made conservatism suppler and more successful. In *The Leopard*, Lampedusa's novel about the collapse of Sicilian aristocracy during the Risorgimento, the young, crafty aristocrat Tancredi tells his uncle that "if we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change." Tancredi's words could have been the rallying cry of Goldwater's descendants.

Evangelical Christians were ideal recruits to the cause, deftly playing the victim card as a way of rejuvenating the power of whites. "It's time for God's people to come out of the closet," declared a Texas televangelist in 1980. It wasn't religion, however, that made evangelicals outcasts akin to homosexuals; it was religion combined with racism. As Joseph Crespino shows in "Civil Rights and the Religious Right," one of the main catalysts of the Christian right was the defense of Southern private schools created in response to desegregation. By 1970, 400,000 white children were attending "segregation academies." States like Mississippi gave students tuition grants, and until the Nixon Administration overturned the practice, the IRS gave donors to these schools tax exemptions.

According to New Right and direct-mail pioneer Richard Viguerie, the attack on these public subsidies by civil rights activists and the courts "was the spark that ignited the religious right's involvement in real politics." Though the rise of segregation academies "was often timed exactly with the desegregation of formerly all-white public schools," writes Crespino, their advocates claimed to be defending religious minorities rather than white supremacy (initially nonsectarian, most of the schools became evangelical over time). Their cause was freedom, not inequality—not the freedom to associate

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with whites, as the previous generation of massive resisters had claimed, but the freedom to practice their own embattled religion. It was a shrewd transposition. In one fell swoop, the heirs of slaveholders became the descendants of persecuted Baptists, and Jim Crow a heresy the First Amendment was meant to protect.

The Christian right was equally galvanized by the backlash against the women's movement. As Marjorie Spruill demonstrates in "Gender and America's Right Turn," antifeminism was a latecomer to the conservative cause. Through the early 1970s advocates of the Equal Rights Amendment could still count Richard Nixon, George Wallace and Strom Thurmond as supporters, and even Phyllis Schlafly described the ERA as something "between innocuous and mildly helpful." But once feminism entered "the sensitive and intensely personal arena of relations between the sexes," the abstract and distant phrases of legal equality took on a more intimate and concrete meaning. The ERA provoked a counterrevolution, led by Schlafly and other women, that was as grassroots and nearly as diverse as the movement it opposed. So successful was this counterrevolution—not just at derailing the ERA but at propelling the Republican Party to power—that it seemed to prove the feminist point. If women could be that effective as political agents, why shouldn't they be in Congress or the White House?

Schlafly grasped the irony. She understood that the women's movement had tapped into, and unleashed a desire for, power and autonomy that couldn't be quelled. If women were to be sent back to the exile of their homes, they would have to view their retreat not as a defeat but as one more victory in the long battle for women's freedom and power.

In an interview with the *Washington Star*, just one of the many absorbing documents gathered by Story and Laurie in *The Rise of Conservatism in America*, Schlafly described herself as a defender, not an opponent, of women's rights. The ERA was "a takeaway of women's rights," she insisted, the "right of the wife to be supported and to have her minor children supported" by her husband. By focusing her argument on "the right of the wife in an ongoing marriage, the wife in the home," Schlafly reinforced the notion that women were wives and mothers first; their only need was protection from their husbands. At the same time, she described that relationship in the liberal language of entitlement rights. "The wife has the right to support" from her spouse, she claimed, treating the woman as a feminist claimant and her husband as the welfare state.

Like their Catholic predecessors in eighteenth-century France, the Christian right appropriated not just the ideas but the manners and mores of its opponents. Billy Graham issued an album called *Rap Session: Billy Graham and Students Rap on Questions of Today's Youth*. Evangelicals criticized the culture of narcissism—then colonized it. In his article in *Rightward Bound*, Matthew Lassiter reminds us that James Dobson got his start as a child psychologist at the University of Southern California, competing with Dr. Spock as the author of a bestselling child-rearing text. Paul Boyer points out in his contribution to the volume that evangelical bookstores "promoted therapeutic and self-help books offering advice on finances, dating, marriage, depression, and addiction from an evangelical perspective." Most audacious was the film version of Hal Lindsey's book *The Late Great Planet Earth*. While the book popularized Christian prophecies of the End of Days, the film was narrated by Orson Welles, bad boy of the Popular Front.

The most interesting cases of the right's appropriation of the left, however, came not from evangelicals but from big business and the Nixon Administration. The business community saw the student movement as a critical constituency. In "Make Payroll, Not War," Bethany Moreton unearths the fascinating details of their effort. Using hip and informal language, business spokesmen left "their plaid suits in the closet" in order to sell capitalism as the fulfillment of '60s-style liberation, participation and authenticity. Reeling from protests against the invasion of Cambodia (and the massacre of four students that ensued), students at Kent State formed a chapter of Students in Free Enterprise (SIFE), one of 150 across the country. They sponsored a "Battle of the Bands," for which one contestant wrote the following lyrics:

> You know I could never be happy
> Just working some nine-to-five.
> I'd rather spend my life poor
> Than living it as a lie.
> If I could just save my money
> Or maybe get a loan,
> I could start my own business
> And make it on my own.

Small-business institutes were set up on college campuses, Moreton explains, casting "the businessman as a victim, not a bully, to impressionable campus audiences."

Business brought its Gramscian tactics to secondary schools as well. In Arkansas, SIFE performed classroom skits of Milton Friedman's PBS series *Free to Choose*. In 1971,

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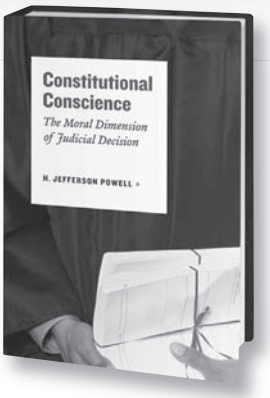

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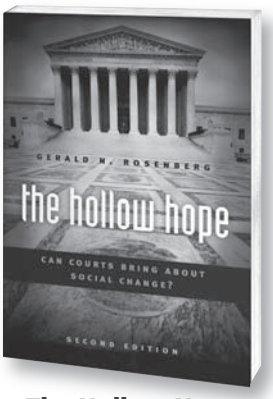

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Arizona passed a law requiring high school graduates to take a course in economics so they would have "some foundation to stand on," according to the bill's sponsor, when they came up "against professors that are collectivists or Socialists." Twenty states followed suit. Arizona students could place out of the course if they passed an exam that asked them, among other things, to match the phrase "government intervention in a free enterprise system" with "is detrimental to the free market."

The most ambidextrous of politicians, Nixon was the master of talking left and walking right. According to Thomas J. Sugrue and John Skrentny ("The White Ethnic Strategy"), Nixon understood that the best response to the civil rights movement was not to defend whites against blacks but to make whites into white ethnics burdened with their own histories of oppression and requiring their own liberation movement. Where immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe had jumped into the American melting pot and turned white, Nixon and the ethnic revivalists of the 1970s "provided Americans of European descent a new vehicle for asserting citizenship rights at a moment when it grew increasingly illegitimate to make claims on the state on the basis of whiteness."

Under Nixon's leadership, the Republican Party was transformed from a WASP country club at the corner of Wall and Main into a version of the urban Democratic machine. Poles and Italians were appointed to high-profile offices in his Administration, and Nixon campaigned vigorously in white ethnic neighborhoods. Sugrue and Skrentny report that he even told one crowd that "he felt like he had Italian blood." Nixon's efforts occasionally went beyond the symbolic—a 1971 proposal would have extended affirmative action to "members of certain ethnic groups, primarily of Eastern, Middle, and Southern European ancestry, such as Italians, Greeks, and Slavic groups"—but most were rhetorical. That didn't make them less potent: the new vocabulary of white ethnicity, Sugrue and Skrentny conclude, helped create "a romanticized past of hard work, discipline, well-defined gender roles, and tight-knit families," providing a new language for a new age—and a very old regime.

The Christian evangelicals and right-wing activists discussed in *Rightward Bound* are one branch of the Goldwater clan. The neoconservatives described by Jacob Heilbrunn in *They Knew They Were Right*—the Kristols (Irving and William), the Podhoretzes (Norman and John) and the Kagans (Donald, Frederick, Robert and Kimberly), to name a few—are another. While this second branch has also propagated a program of domestic reaction, it is known primarily for elaborating Goldwater's hawkish views on foreign policy. Like Goldwater, the neocons sought to roll back communism. Like him, they have scorned alliances and have feared that a nation unwilling to risk death is a decadent nation awaiting servitude. Since 9/11, however, they've surpassed Goldwater's hawkishness, adumbrating an almost theological vision of the United States as the all good, all powerful, sovereign of the earth.

A mix of resentment, zeal and intransigence has been a source of intellectual fertility for neocons.

The rise of the neocons is a puzzle. How did a group of bookish, mostly Jewish, ex-leftists from New York City come to help govern a nation that is Christian, anti-intellectual and hates New York City? Heilbrunn (a former neocon) doesn't solve the puzzle, but he brings a welcome scrutiny to one piece of it. "Neoconservatism isn't about ideology," he writes. "It isn't about the left. It is about a mindset, one that has been decisively shaped by the Jewish immigrant experience, by the Holocaust, and by the twentieth-century struggle against totalitarianism." That mind-set includes a bitter resentment of the State Department as well as the WASP establishment, which thwarted Jews in academia—Heilbrunn repeats the story of how Elliot Cohen, Lionel Trilling's mentor, was told that only Anglo-Saxons could understand English literature. It also includes a prophetic sensibility, "an uncompromising temperament" that sees "ideas as weapons in a moral struggle."

This combination of resentment, zeal and intransigence has been a source of intellectual fertility—and political anxiety. Whenever neocons get too close to the Promised Land, they fret over losing their status as outsiders. Being comfortable makes them uncomfortable. Thanks to the failure of the war in Iraq, however, "they are back in exile, where they belong—and where they are, in some respects, most content," Heilbrunn explains.

Heilbrunn is an able chronicler of the neocons' ambivalence about belonging to a club that is willing to have them as members. But his book is marred by blemishes large and small. He claims that Arthur Schlesinger Jr. "did not see an internal threat" to the United States from domestic communism. Yet Schlesinger devoted an entire chapter of *The Vital Center* (1949) to that threat—almost twice as long as the chapter he wrote on the Soviet Union—and claimed that "there is surely no alternative to paying exact and unfaltering attention to the Communists in our midst." Heilbrunn writes that Leo Strauss, the University of Chicago philosopher, could not have been a "crypto-fascist" because he was "a German mandarin" with a "mania for all things Greek." Has Heilbrunn not heard of Martin Heidegger?

Heilbrunn writes that "Zionism was about the furthest thing that Hannah Arendt… wanted to be associated with in any shape or form." If that's true, why did Arendt do illegal work for Zionist organizations in Nazi Germany, which got her arrested and forced her to flee, and why did she work for Zionist organizations in France? Why did she write in 1948 that "Palestine and the building of a Jewish homeland constitute today the great hope and the great pride of Jews all over the world"? Why, when Israel was at war in 1967 and 1973, did she contribute to the United Jewish Appeal?

These are simple errors, and though one wishes that Heilbrunn didn't make them so often or with such confidence, they don't detract from his overall argument. The same cannot be said of the book's two other problems. The first is that *They Knew They Were Right* leaves the reader with a weary sense of déjà vu, as if watching an old newsreel one too many times. It's the 1930s, and there are the Trots in Alcove 1 of the City College cafeteria, the Stalinists in Alcove 2. Oh, and there's Daniel Bell. One day he'll call himself a liberal in politics, a socialist in economics and a conservative in culture. It's the 1950s, and *Time* is proclaiming "reconciliation" between America and its intellectuals. There's *Partisan Review* holding a symposium on "Our Country, Our Culture." But where's Irving Howe's rebuke of this accommodation? Ah, there it is: "In a famous 1952 essay, 'This Age of Conformity,' Howe asserted that the intellectuals had sold out." It's 1993; the cold war is over. But Irving Kristol is still fighting it—this time, against the liberals he's hated his whole life. In a controversial article, he writes, "My cold war has increased in intensity, as sector after sector has been ruthlessly corrupted by the liberal ethos." Heilbrunn says, "Daniel Bell told me that he was stunned that Kristol would condemn liberalism outright rather than pointing to specific flaws."

But Bell didn't say that only to Heilbrunn.

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He said that to everyone, in Joseph Dorman's 1998 documentary *Arguing the World*. Heilbrunn had the opportunity to interview Bell, Norman Podhoretz and many other conservatives and neoconservatives. But with one gem of an exception—after Heilbrunn informs Buckley at the New York Yacht Club that the only magazine Leo Strauss subscribed to was *National Review*, Buckley expresses delight but wonders if Strauss was "clubbable"—you've heard it all before.

Maybe you even wrote it before. Here's Heilbrunn discussing how supporters of the war in Iraq began to criticize the Iraqis once the war effort faltered:

> David Brooks blamed the Iraqis for succumbing to innate "demons: greed, blood lust and a mind-boggling unwillingness to compromise…even in the face of self-immolation." Leon Wieseltier said much the same thing in *The New Republic*:
>
> > The security situation is at bottom the social-cultural situation. It seems increasingly clear to me that the blame for the violence in Iraq, and for its frenzied recoil from what Fouad Ajami hopefully called "the foreigner's gift," belongs to the Iraqis. Gifts must not only be given, they must also be received.… For three and a half years, the Iraqis have been free people. What have they done with their freedom?... After we invaded Iraq, Iraq invaded itself.

Here's a passage I wrote in an article about Hannah Arendt published in the January 4, 2007, issue of *The London Review of Books*:

> According to the *New York Times* columnist David Brooks, after the fall of Saddam the Iraqis succumbed to their native 'demons: greed, blood lust and a mind-boggling unwillingness to compromise…even in the face of self-immolation'. Liberal hawks such as Leon Wieseltier believe much the same thing:
>
> > The security situation is at bottom the social-cultural situation. It seems increasingly clear to me that the blame for the violence in Iraq, and for its frenzied recoil from what Fouad Ajami hopefully called 'the foreigner's gift', belongs

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> to the Iraqis. Gifts must not be only given, they must also be received.... For three and a half years, the Iraqis have been a free people. What have they done with their freedom?... After we invaded Iraq, Iraq invaded itself.

The identical order and nearly identical setup of the same quotes, with the same ellipses, caught my attention, especially since Heilbrunn cites only Wieseltier in his footnote. But I dismissed it as a single instance of carelessness. Then I found another. Here's Heilbrunn, in a chapter called "Redemption," talking about Ronald Reagan's human rights policy:

> For example, on April 30, 1981, [Reagan] remarked, "Even at the negotiating table, never shall it be forgotten for a moment that wherever it is taking place in the world, the persecution of people for whatever reason...persecution of people for their religious belief...that is a matter to be on that negotiating table or the United States does not belong at that table." But the *New York Times* reported on the same day that "after the speech, a White House spokesman said Mr. Reagan had not meant to alter his policy of playing down the rights issue in foreign relations."

Here's Patricia Derian, Jimmy Carter's Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, in a November 7, 1981, article in *The Nation*:

> On April 30, *The New York Times* quoted President Reagan as having said that "even at the negotiating table, never shall it be forgotten for a moment that wherever it is taking place in the world, the persecution of people for whatever reason...persecution of people for their religious belief...that is a matter to be on that negotiating table or the United States does not belong at that table." In the same edition of the *Times*, a front-page story reported that "after the speech, a White House spokesman said Mr. Reagan had not meant to alter his policy of playing down the rights issue in foreign relations."

Heilbrunn, it turns out, borrows more than the syntax, setup and sources of other people's writings. Sometimes he reproduces, sentence by sentence, the arc and logic of their prose. Here he is again on Reagan's human rights policy:

> Reagan was initially rather disdainful of human rights, which he showed unmistakably by nominating Ernest Lefever, a member of the Committee on the Present Danger as well as the Washington-based Ethics and Public Policy Center (which Abrams himself would head in the 1990s), to be assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs. Lefever had declared that human rights were irrelevant to U.S. foreign policy and, furthermore, that any legislation making foreign aid conditional on a nation's observance of human rights should be repealed. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which had a Republican majority, rejected his nomination.

Here's Derian again, in that same *Nation* article:

> The President nominated Ernest Lefever to be Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Lefever's publicly stated views on the subject were (a) that all legislation making foreign aid conditional on a nation's observance of human rights should be repealed and (b) that human rights had no place in U.S. foreign policy. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, with a Republican majority, handed the President his first important defeat by voting 13 to 4 to reject the nomination.

Each passage contains three sentences, plotting the same arc with essentially the same information: Reagan nominated Lefever; Lefever held two views on human rights; a Senate committee rejected Lefever. Heilbrunn even duplicates Derian's prose—"that all legislation making foreign aid conditional on a nation's observance of human rights should be repealed"—with a negligible change of "all" to "any." While Heilbrunn does cite Derian for a comment on Reagan's policy, he does not cite her or her article as the source of his information, quotations, argument and language.

Heilbrunn is a journalist, not a scholar; he is a former senior editor at *The New Republic* and a former member of the *Los Angeles Times* editorial board. Yet he or his publisher has packaged this book as a serious piece of original research. It comes with blurbs from esteemed academics and highly regarded journalists. It has extensive footnotes with primary sources, suggesting an author who has moled away in archives and microfiche reading rooms for months, if not years. Has he?

The mise-en-scène of Heilbrunn's chapter "Wilderness" describes the raucous 1967 convention of the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP) in Chicago. Heilbrunn claims that his only source is a 1967 article in *The New York Times Magazine* by Walter Goodman. Yet several items in Heilbrunn's account don't appear in Goodman's article. There is this statement from William F. Pepper, executive director of the NCNP, to the convention: "It may well be that what you begin here may ultimately result in a new social, economic and political system in the United States." There is also a claim that some of the organization's funding came from Martin Peretz, then a member of the New Left. There is even that middle initial "F" in Pepper's name, which Goodman never uses. Each of these items does appear, however, in an April 2003 *Journal of American Studies* article by historian Simon Hall, who did find them by digging in archives (at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin) and poring over microfiche ("Political Activities of the Johnson White House, 1963–69").

The second problem, then, with *They Knew They Were Right* has to do with its fast-and-loose use of sources. Heilbrunn harvests quotes, in the same order and with the same ellipses, from sources he neither acknowledges nor cites. His expository frames for these quotes closely resemble or repeat those of his sources. Passages in his text trace the arc of passages in other texts. On at least two occasions, he expropriates the research of others without attribution. And on at least one occasion, he passes off the prose of another writer as if it were his own. His sourcing is sloppy, his thinking borrowed, his writing derivative.

And, in the end, his argument about the neocons is incoherent. One of the reasons the neocons succeed, Heilbrunn claims, is that they don't compromise their principles. Consequently, "the political class in each party regards them with a mixture of appreciation and apprehension, even loathing." Yet Heilbrunn also claims that neoconservatism has "become a partisan cause dedicated to advancing the Republican Party's electoral fortunes rather than an independent collection of thinkers." The neocons "started out as intellectuals who were attracted to power. Soon enough, however, the prospect of access to the high and mighty became an end in itself." So, are the neocons sticklers or hacks, purists or politicos? Similarly, Heilbrunn introduces Norman Podhoretz as "a compulsive truth teller," a "true prophetic type." One page later, however, Podhoretz moves to the left because of a "shrewd assessment that Ameri-

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can culture was moving left." Two pages after that, he puts "another finger to the wind and tack[s] rightward." In Heilbrunn's universe, men who cannot surrender their principles surrender their principles; truth-telling prophets write books with titles like *Making It*.

Heilbrunn sets out to tell one story: how a group of moralists enter the Promised Land, discover that prophecy comes more easily to them in the wilderness and long to flee back into exile but can't. He winds up telling another story: how a group of intellectuals enter the Promised Land, gain access and power and, to the apparent regret of no one save Heilbrunn, lose their edge. This first story is sad; the second, comic. But Heilbrunn can't seem to tell the difference between them. Perhaps that is why he can say, with no evident sense of irony, that the neocon errand into the wilderness came to a climax when Seymour Martin Lipset, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and James Q. Wilson arrived at the government department at Harvard.

If Heilbrunn had a better grasp of the history of conservatism, he might have been able to turn his confusion into insight. Ever since it emerged from the shadows of the French Revolution, conservatism has been a movement of insiders pretending to be outsiders. Who better to make the case that the insider is really an outsider than the outsider who has become an insider? Staffing the offices of reaction, parvenus and upstarts can argue, like no one else, for a modernized mass feudalism. Their very presence at the centers of power signals that privilege has indeed become democratic.

Hailing from the periphery, they also instruct old and sclerotic elites in the ways of renewal and renovation. Joseph de Maistre, a jurist and diplomat from Savoy, tutored counterrevolutionary France, even though he never was a subject or citizen of that country. Edmund Burke, the bourgeois Irishman, defended aristocratic England against the Jacobins. Alexander Hamilton, bastard child of the Caribbean and rumored son of racially mixed parentage, led the Federalist reaction. Disraeli the Jew gave the Tories confidence and style. Kristol the Jew—like Scalia the Italian, Fukuyama the Asian and all the hyphens of today's conservative movement—gave the Republicans ideas and zeal.

Barry Goldwater's mother was a descendant of Roger Williams. His father, who converted to Episcopalianism, was a descendant of Polish Jews. When Goldwater ran in 1964, Harry Golden quipped, "I always knew the first Jew to run for president would be an Episcopalian." If the history of conservatism is any guide, perhaps he should have run as a Jew. ■

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Solemn, Expanded Time

by BARRY SCHWABSKY

The invention of collage as a medium of fine art early in the last century has been described as a "pasted-paper revolution," an unprecedented way for artists to square the representational fictions of depiction with a newly emphatic sense of the literal presence of the picture surface (later to be known as "the materiality of the signifier"). When the California artist Jess (born Burgess Collins in 1923) made the first of what he called his "Paste-Ups" in 1951, however, it seems as though he was less inspired by his artistic forebears in Cubism and Dada than by the humble, unassuming crafts associated with making scrapbooks and other such memorabilia, twee pastimes cultivated by ladies whose sensibilities were formed during long Victorian afternoons: "I used to paste things up with my aunt," the artist would later recall, "and that experience is probably more central to my love of this kind of art than the modern development of collage." But he soon enough immersed himself in the latter. The following year his life partner, the poet Robert Duncan, bought him a copy of Max Ernst's legendary Surrealist collage-novel *Une Semaine de Bonté* (1934), and he devoted himself to "*absorb*ing" it.

Part of what Jess had to absorb from Ernst, probably, was the fact that something akin to his disregard for the distinction between the innovative strategies of the Modernist avant-gardes and the cozy diversions of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie was something the Modernists were already secretly onto; after all, if Ernst was able to make his collages from the engrav-

Barry Schwabsky, an American art critic and poet living in London, is co-editor of the international review section of Artforum. *His most recent book is* Vitamin P: New Perspectives in Painting. *His new collection of poems will be published this year by Black Square Editions.*

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ings illustrating forgotten Victorian novels, this was in good part because the melodrama so characteristic of them was already imbued with the "omnipotence of dream" that the Surrealists and Dadas saw as potentially subversive of bourgeois reason. So when Jess defiantly referred to himself as "insistently a Romantic artist," he was far from rejecting the art movements of his own century; he was articulating his understanding of their significance.

That an artistic vocation was synonymous with a choice to opt out of a dominant sense of reason was an idea even more vivid in Jess's mind than in that of most other artists because, unlike them, he knew from the inside what Eisenhower would soon call the military-industrial complex and Allen Ginsberg simply referred to as Moloch. Having trained as a chemist, he'd gone to work first for the Manhattan Project and then the Hanford Atomic Energy Project in Richland, Washington, on the production of plutonium. After experiencing a terrifying dream of the world's destruction, he abandoned his scientific career in 1949 and enrolled in the California School of Fine Arts—now the San Francisco Art Institute—where he studied with such Abstract Expressionist painters as Clyfford Still and Edward Corbett. The sense of nuclear threat would be recurrent in his art, above all in the '50s. The year 1949 was also when Jess first encountered Duncan—already notorious for his outspoken 1944 essay "The Homosexual in Society"—and on New Year's Day, 1951, they exchanged the vows that would unite them until the poet's death in 1988.

Whatever it was Jess learned from his teachers, he doesn't seem to have been able to put it to much immediate use; his paintings of the '50s suggest that he never had enough facility with paint to use it as a vehicle for spontaneous gesture or pure color. Later he would frankly suggest that hamhandedness was precisely what led him to concentrate on collage: "I didn't start out as a child or young man to develop skills with the hand and eye. When I was twenty-eight and becoming an artist, I no longer had the ability to learn these things," he explained. "What my mind wanted to see happen would require skills I could not possibly use. Therefore, I had to use images that had already been made for me." But the supernatural finesse with which Jess handled his cutting tools shows that what was at stake was not a lack of manual skill but rather a difference in kind of skill. His collages can be immensely detailed and (unlike those of Ernst in *Une Semaine de Bonté*, for instance) are not typically constructed by adding just a few heterogeneous elements to an already existing pictorial setting; instead, the collage is an accretion of multitudinous small parts, each representational in itself, that combine to create a new space that may be essentially abstract—a "flux-image" as Jess sometimes called it.

THE JPMORGAN CHASE ART COLLECTION

Echo's Wake: Part V, 1961

This calls for great precision of hand and eye, but in a different way than painting does. In a famous passage the philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty describes a film of Matisse at work; in slow motion, "that same brush that, seen with the naked eye, leaped from one act to another, was seen… to try ten possible movements, dance in front of the canvas, brush it lightly several times, and crash down finally like a lightning stroke upon the one line necessary." The "solemn, expanded time" lent to the mercurial act of painting by the artifice of slow-motion playback is the real time of the collagist's working methods—at least when the collagist is one like Jess rather than the more spontaneous Ernst, who executed *Une Semaine de Bonté* at a rate of ten collages a day, 200 pages in a mere three weeks. Jess, by contrast, tended to meditate on his collages over long periods, archiving images over the years, working out compositions in drawing, and gradually piecing his images together by holding them in place with pins until he was sure they were ready to be glued down. Perhaps a super-sped-up time-lapse film of Jess at work would have split the difference between him and the Modernist painter par excellence, summarizing what might have been, likewise, ten possible choices in the placement of an image in a single complicated but decisive feint of the hand.

No, Jess may never have been able to become a good painter in any way envisaged by his art school training, but in retrospect any notion that his choice of collage as a primary medium was determined by some deficiency of the hand should be dismissed as merely anecdotal. His use of already existing images was never really a stopgap, a shortcut to some other end—nearly immediately, it became the conceptual basis for his entire sense of what art is, and eventually it allowed him to reinvent painting for himself on a very different basis from what he had been taught. Thus the weight he began to give to the notion of translation, and not only in the thirty-two paintings he designated as translations between 1959 and 1976.

Only two of these are included in the exhibition "Jess: To and From the Printed Page," developed by Independent Curators International and curated by Ingrid Schaffner, which has been touring the country since March 2007. (I saw it at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin; the show is currently on view at the Douglas F. Cooley Memorial Art Gallery, Reed College, Portland, Oregon, through June 17, and will then move to

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the University of Iowa Museum of Art, Iowa City, September 12–November 9, and the Cornell Fine Arts Museum, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, January 22–March 21, 2009.) This is a shame because it means the show—the first large-scale presentation of Jess's work since his death in 2004—gives a skewed sense of the overall shape of the artist's career, and even shortchanges the exhibition's announced theme, his work's relation to print culture, since the "Translations" are usually in the first instance translations of found illustrations or postcards into paint—lots of paint.

In these paintings, Jess abandoned all semblance of the free, untrammeled gesturalism that he might have imbibed from his teachers, and that was still a factor in his nebulously representational paintings of the mid-'50s. The "Translations," by contrast, are not so much painted as sculpted in paint—thick, congealed, churned-up eddies of color far more obdurate and crude than the impastos of earlier painters, with nothing of van Gogh's expressiveness, let alone Rembrandt's numinous dialectic of light and base matter. Jess's way with paint is instead surprisingly akin to the facture developed around the same time by another maverick, the New York–based Alfred Jensen, for his geometrically patterned explorations of numerical systems derived from Pythagorean esotericism, the Mayan calendar, Goethe's color theory and other such disreputable sources. Both artists alienate oil paint from its traditional humanist purpose, best summed up in Willem de Kooning's assertion that "flesh was the reason oil painting was invented." Few artists have ever put the physicality of oil paint to less fleshly use than Jess and Jensen. But otherwise, the effects the two achieve with it are quite different: whereas the materiality of Jensen's paint lends his abstract patterns a startling concreteness, in Jess's "Translations" and other paintings with similar technique, the paint seems to embalm the imagery, giving even the most anodyne motifs (like the personal snapshot he used in one example in the exhibition, *Fig. 3—Ida, Duncan, and I: Translation #18*, 1966) an eerie, haunted air, as well as an intransigent weight and power that no collage could ever attain.

If the exhibition disappoints by slighting Jess the painter, it amply fulfills its ambition to show his art's roots, not just in the "printed page" exemplified by the illustrations he sliced and diced to get material for his paste-ups or by the countless books, little magazines and broadsides for which so many of them were made and whose presence lends the exhibition a seductively insiderish tone, in accordance with recent tendencies to value a "poetics of coterie" in the face of an ever more overwhelming culture industry. The exhibition also identifies him more broadly as a creature of literary culture, steeped in "the fairytale writings of George MacDonald, the Puritan gothic of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the science fiction of J.U. Lloyd (a pharmacist who set stories in a land called 'Etidorhpa,' or 'Aphrodite' spelled backwards), the mystical Chronicles of C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien, and the supernatural thrillers of Charles Williams," as Schaffner lists them, and *Finnegans Wake*, which Jess read incessantly. And it recognizes his place in a poetic avant-garde alongside Duncan and such friends and rivals as Denise Levertov, James Broughton and Jack Spicer—not to mention the anomalous figure who perhaps bridged these two worlds, the Scottish-born Helen Adam. The godmother of the San Francisco Renaissance, as she's been called, specialized in gruesome ballads that sound as if they were centuries old. Jess himself produced a small but estimable body of poetry, recordings of which can be heard in the exhibition, and again, translation is at its core, most obviously in his free renderings of Christian Morgenstern's *Gallowsongs* (1970). In this milieu, it was natural for artists to write poetry and for poets to make films and for everyone to start ephemeral presses, magazines and theaters.

Yet the emphasis on the literary basis of Jess's art should not be taken to mean that his works have determinate discursive meanings: he translated images into other images, not texts into images. Looking at any of his elaborate and meticulously composed collages, with their recurrent evocation of myths, fairy tales and Jungian archetypes, it's easy to get the feeling that there is some specific coded message to be extracted from it; these works would be a feast for paranoiacs. Yet the more one delves into them the more one realizes that, in good Modernist style, their elaborate structure is its own greatest reward. A deeper acquaintance with the works of J.U. Lloyd or even James Joyce is probably not going to provide the key that unlocks their secrets. It is undoubtedly true that, as Schaffner writes, "the archetypal story for Jess was one of an innocent's wanderings, or fall, into realms of the imagination, the metaphysical, outer space, or the unconscious"—but this fall or wandering is therefore one away from definable meaning into a realm of indeterminate and unverifiable echoes, resonances and correspondences. "Jess who most loves the truth of nonsense," as Duncan once said, was never likely to furnish his works with didactic meaning.

His intended masterpiece, never com-

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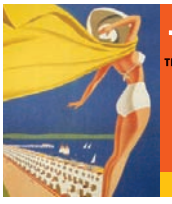
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Waiting There

And you go down that street
Rainbows ahead bling you
like midnight never does
and I wonder where
evening will be tonight
My loved ones waiting there

I pretend my swagger
through debris
is the holy dance
of the many my days
On the remotest sidewalk
facing the moon
I cannot say
the orphan still lives
and you recognize
the battleground
You can hide her in
quadrangle dirt
The buildings are
old and half blind

With an enemy
like daylight who needs
the psychology dime
Hips do the work
and I cross the world

JOHN GODFREY

pleted, was *Narkissos*. Present in this exhibition in the form of a working notebook he kept from 1959–90 and a large drawing on linen known as *Narkissos: The Last Translation*, 1978-91—a large collage version also exists—it was meant to be a synthesis of the painting technique he'd developed for his "Translations" series but, in Jess's words, "composed of an interweaving of found black and white images, as if a complicated 'paste-up' had been TRANSLATED." The work's obsessive intricacy recalls the mad Victorian fairy painting *The Fairy Feller's Master-Stroke* (1855–64), whose bedlamite author, Richard Dadd, spent nine years on it and likewise left unfinished; more than a century later Peter Schjeldahl found it "as dense and worrisome as uranium," a sentiment the former nuclear chemist Jess would have understood. Even in *Narkissos*'s unfinished form, its innumerable details so palely indicated that the "well of symbols" (as the poet Michael Palmer once called it) seems to be in a constant state of vanishing before one's eyes, and the work imperiously stakes its claim: as if the naked young man who is its central figure were lost in contemplation, not of his own image as the Narcissus myth would have it but of the dissolution of all earthly things. Among the quotations in the notebook is one from the philosopher Herbert Marcuse, who says of Narcissus, "He does not know that the image he admires is his own."

Except for a last bout of effort on *Narkissos* between 1989 and 1991, Jess's work as an artist mostly ended when Duncan suffered kidney failure in 1984 and Jess took over his lover's care until his death. Since then, his work has been mainly a sort of persistent rumor. As Schaffner admits, "Jess's reputation remains marginal," his following "limited, if devoted." To some extent this peripheral but persistent position might be just what Jess would have wanted. His art seeks a cult status that would be undermined by becoming too familiar. But from the fairy-tale evocations of Karen Kilimnik's paintings and Anna Gaskell's photographs to the fantastical narratives in the drawings of Ernesto Caivano or Zak Smith, the current scene is overflowing with artists trying to make an end-run around the mainstream of Modernism to integrate vernacular imagery with idiosyncratic visions and reclaim something like Victorian feyness, literary bewitchment and, yes, nonsense. Jess could have been one of their guides, if only they were more aware of him. Placing him so firmly within his context, "Jess: To and From the Printed Page" makes me wonder if it doesn't keep him further from our own than he should be. ■

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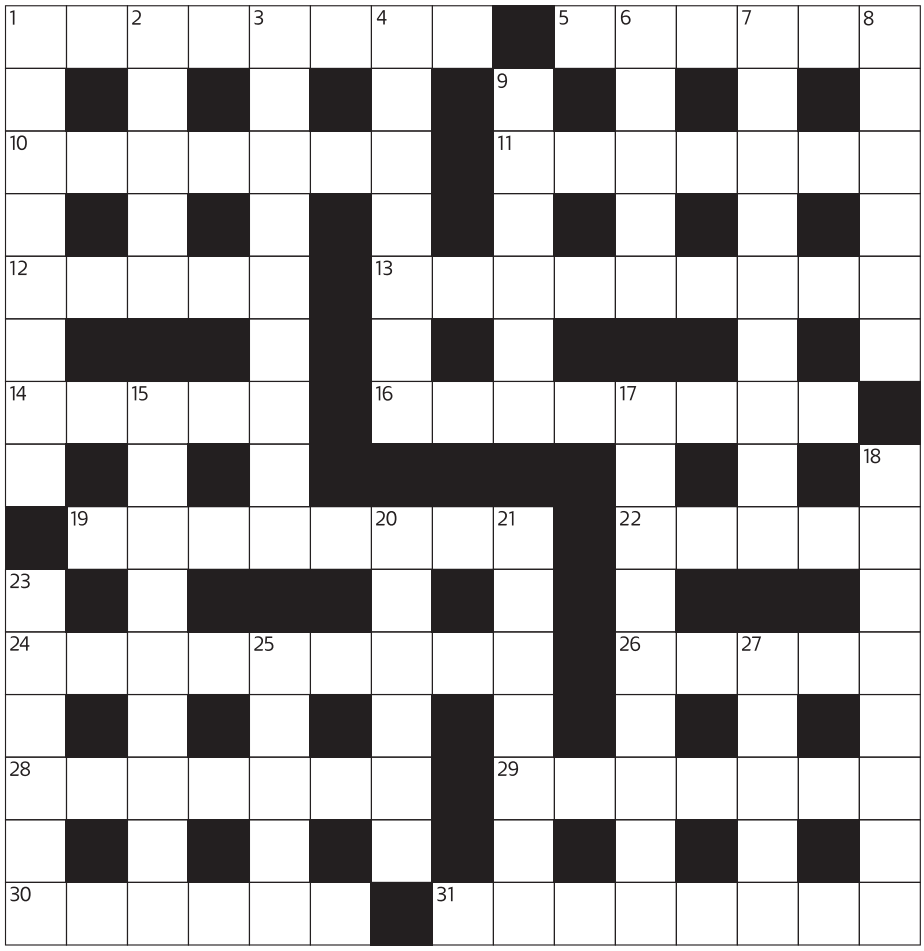

ACROSS

1 Kerchiefs? Crazy, as they say, about the darndest start! (8)

5 See 23 down

10 Companies hope to have the working type—which is very good for a Victorian. (7)

11 With hoopla typical, you could find such strange creatures. (7)

12 Very tired, but no one is left out! (3,2)

13 Reign gets anarchic salutations. (9)

14 One hears it's cold, but it might be very hot. (5)

16 Nap after school briefly, and after writing in Latin tersely for kirsch. (8)

19 Where you won't find a winner soft and confused, but going to Frankie's head. (5-3)

22 Therefore it's a layer with the Church of England. (5)

24 The playful type might use one, and it brings a laugh to the girl. (9)

26 and **28** Digs up the gold with such as Willie of song, but they could help keep the channel clear. (4-8)

29 A glucoside obtained from woad, produced by an early American, which is about 100. (7)

30 Certainly not wet around the indicator of the feminine, which is rather nicely appareled. (6)

31 All right! That's how Peter (obviously a vegetarian) kept his wife! (4,4)

DOWN

1 How some hope to win the lottery, possibly. (2,6)

2 Country you get to by plane transfer. (5)

3 Army command, but only the alert pay it. (9)

4 Claims there are drinks around the limb here. (7)

6 Earth-shaking symbol for approximately the middle of February. (5)

7 A bad place from which to go to the fire. (6-3)

8 With IRS traditionally you have to want a drink with it. (6)

9 To make one, you may be expected to have a soapbox. (6)

15 Get in the middle of a fight? Stop it! (9)

17 In a red-faced manner, as they say, with what's left of the smoke made wrong, but only the last half. (9)

18 No pearls can be involved here, just between you and me! (8)

20 Indolent, in a rather fancy way. (6)

21 You'll find just an old piece of cloth in the assembly of information, but it could easily break. (7)

23 and **5** across Had a good talk, but prepared to swallow everything but the skinny part. (6,3,3)

25 So it gets up about the writer, but doesn't close things down! (5)

27 The north bit of the farmer's land, belonging to the maternal parent of Mme. Bailey, in a sense. (5)

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Mom didn't think she needed email… now she can't live without it.

The HP Printing Mailbox with Presto Service lets her receive email and full-color photos without a computer or Internet connection.

The Perfect Solution for Parents & Grandparents

If you're like me, you'd love to get Mom into the electronic family loop. My mom doesn't want to use a computer, so until now I haven't been able to send her email. Recently, a friend told me about a great solution she found. It's called the HP Printing Mailbox with Presto Service, and it lets her send email, photos, and PDF documents to her parents even though they don't have a computer.

Stay Connected to Family

My grown kids and I rely on email to stay in touch. Keeping in touch with my Mom is different. She doesn't have or want a computer, and while I always had good intentions of printing photos and sending letters, I just didn't have the time. Sure, I call a lot, but she was missing out on all of the great family emails and photos that I get from my kids.

Simple Technology Makes Staying in Touch Easy

Then we got her the HP Printing Mailbox. It is a remarkable product that lets anyone receive email and attached photos, or PDF documents, without the hassle and expense of a computer or Internet connection. It's easy to set up and simple to use. All you need is an existing phone line and electrical outlet. Now our whole family can send Mom email and photos that are transformed into beautiful, full-color printouts. Messages are printed automatically, so all she has to do is pick them up off of the Printing Mailbox, read, and enjoy! It couldn't be simpler. Whether we send pictures, jokes, or just a note saying, "Hi, we love you," Mom says the HP Printing Mailbox has been a real joy.

Try Presto

See firsthand how Presto brings loved ones who don't use a computer into the electronic family loop. It's risk free. If you're not completely satisfied, simply return it within 60 days for a refund.

"Presto has provided a simple and powerful way for my family to share photos with each other with no one being left out."
— Brian V. from California

"My mother LOVES it! This is the best present I have ever given my mother. She says that getting her Presto mail is like someone coming to her house for a visit."
— Sherri M. from Chicago

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Long Distance Calls	No add'l charge	No add'l charge
Nationwide Coverage††	Yes	Yes
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